SYRIA IN THE AMARNA AGE: A BORDERLAND BETWEEN CONFLICTING EMPIRES

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PREFACE

Statement of Purpose

The problem. The object of this study is to write a history of Syria during the Amarna Age (*i.e.*, the sixteen years when Akhetaten [modern Tell el-Amarna] served as Egypt's administrative capital). Inscriptional materials available for such a study consist primarily of the diplomatic correspondence (and related documents) preserved in three state archives: in the Egyptian archives in Akhetaten, in the Hittite archives in Ḫattuša (modern Boghazköy), and in the archives from Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra).

In Akhetaten, the capital of Pharaoh Akhenaten, part of the correspondence between the Pharaohs Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, and Tut^{c}ankhamūn (roughly covering the period of the first half of the fourteenth century B.C.) and numerous Western Asiatic rulers, was found in the year 1887. In addition to the three hundred fifty-eight cuneiform texts which J. A. Knudtzon published by 1915, nineteen other texts have become known through publication (between 1915 and 1947). In the present study the latter texts are numbered continuously from 359 to 377.

The texts found in the Hittite state archives (major discoveries being made during the years 1906-07 and 1957) include a letter of the Hittite monarch Šuppiluliuma to a Pharaoh, and a number of "feudal" treaties between Šuppiluliuma and rulers of countries to the south of

Ḫatti (*i.e.*, the country of Kizzuwatna and the Syrian vassal states of Mitanni, Nuḫašše and Amurru). Documents directly postdating the Amarna Age such as "the Plague Prayers of Muršili II," "the annals of Šuppiluliuma" (recorded by his son Muršili II), and other biographical data relating to Šuppiluliuma's reign (*KUB*, XIX, 9; *KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 6-25), are among the primary sources used for a recovery of events in Syria during the time under investigation.

Uncovered from Amarna Age Ugarit are a number of "international" letters and treaties between the Ugaritic rulers Ammištamru I and Niqmaddu II, and the heads of state of such countries as Egypt, Ḫatti, Amurru, and Kargamiš (the majority of which were not published until 1955-56). Ancient Ugarit also has yielded a surprisingly wide variety of other types of literary materials which have been unearthed with every new season since the spring of 1929. These are of such genre as brief inscriptions, administrative letters, and documents which throw light on both Ugarit's internal history and her relations with neighboring states.

In addition to these state archive records, another major source of Amarna Age inscriptional materials was discovered during the archaeological campaigns at the middle Syrian city-state of Qaṭna (modern el-Mishrifeh) between 1925 and 1929. This turned out to be cuneiform tablets containing inventories of valued objects belonging to Qaṭna's great temple Nin-Egal. Other types of archaeological evidence, especially the excavation reports from Ugarit and Tell el-Amarna, are of invaluable historical importance for the period under study.

The approach. Writing history is impossible without an established sequence of events to which historical data may be related. Such a sequence is provided by the Syrian invasions of the Hittites under the famed conqueror Šuppiluliuma. The investigation first centers on relating the unfolding drama caused by these Amarna Age incursions into Syria. These military incursions had drastic consequences not only for the small Syrian states but also for the two empires directly concerned with that region, Egypt and Mitanni. The investigation next singles out for study the history of the Syrian state of Amurru during these same years. The varying political fortunes experienced by the latter country aptly reflect how the fluctuating diplomatic and military maneuvers of the great powers affected Syria as a whole.

Importance of the Study

Historical relevance. In antiquity Syria was a land of prosperous city-states and countries, fertile plains, natural resources, strategic harbors, and vital trade routes (linking the land of the Nile Valley with Asia Minor and the mighty empires of the Tigris and the Euphrates). During the Late Bronze Age it was uniquely strategic because of its position as a "border land," vulnerable to the expanding frontiers of three imperial giants--Egypt, Mitanni, and Ḫatti. Rich culturally, the land was a meeting place for peoples from all of the great civilizations of that Age: Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Anatolian, Mycenaean, and Canaanite.

The decades immediately preceding the Amarna years had seen a growing *entente* between the great powers bordering on or near Syria. The result was a great flowering of international diplomatic activity unsurpassed by that of earlier times. This budding "internationalism" was to flounder on events which erupted at a critical juncture in both space and time--Syria during the Amarna Age. By itself, this historical denouement marks the archaeological material under investigation as an important source for evaluating a critical period in an early chapter of human history. Even beyond such a value, however, is the insight the present investigation offers to sources which have a bearing on the understanding of the topography, customs, and history of the biblical lands as they moved into the world of the Old Testament.

Previous research. Studies relating the three state archives of Egypt, Ugarit, and Ḫatti into a synthesized history of Syria during the Amarna Age are being continually outdated by the publication of new archaeological materials. Particularly is this true of the Ugaritic and Boghazkoy sources. The main bulk of the international archives of Ugarit was not published until 1956, and the contents of the 1960 archive promise to rival the original finds in importance. The historically crucial Hittite version of the Aziru-Šuppiluliuma suzerainty treaty recovered from Boghazkoy in 1957 was not published in edited form until 1960. Historical interpretation of the large body of letters and political texts from the Age under investigation also has undergone a certain amount of revision within the past decade, thus rendering a fresh look at these documents both possible and even mandatory. Among the most recent literary works dealing with a synthesis of these archival materials are: K. A. Kitchen, Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs (Liverpool, 1962); Mario Liverani, Storia di Ugarit nell'Età degli archivi politici (Rome, 1962); Wolfgang Helck's chapter, "Ägypten und Vorderasien während der Amarnazeit" in *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 174-198; and Edward Fay Campbell, Jr., *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1964). Because a significant segment of the present study deals with the pharaonic prenomen *Nibḫururiya* recorded in the Hittite archives, mention should also be made of J. Vergote's *Tout-ankh-amon dans les archives hittites* (Istanbul, 1961). Approaching the closest in proximity to the present study is Kitchen's recent monograph cited above. What is presented in the following pages, however, departs frequently from Kitchen's sequence of events and represents a fuller assessment of the sources involved.

Present limitations. There are certain limitations which must be taken into account if one would evaluate the results, conclusions, and the tentative suggestions set forth herein. One of these is the limitation of the source materials themselves. The epistles and political texts take for granted a tremendous background of knowledge which the investigator can only reconstruct from inference. While it is true that much history may be gained from the Hittite treaties which summarize in their initial parts the previous relations of the contracting parties, it should be remembered that these treaties tend to simplify historical processes and events. In addition to these problems are those of a linguistic nature which cast some degree of uncertainty on the understanding of social and political institutions. The complex political relationships between various rulers, city-states, and population groups are difficult enough to understand without encountering enigmatic terms in Akkadian which bear on the socio-political environment of that exotic age. Of a more serious nature is the fact that there is no established chronology for the regnal years of the important rulers of the period under investigation. Present chronological systems are inadequately based on what can be deduced from a synthesis of various archaeological findings. The lengths of years for the critically important reigns of Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, and Šuppiluliuma are approximations based upon either the highest year-date known or on synchronic data, and not upon such definitive sources as king lists, which record for posterity the total regnal years of a given monarch's reign.

Each season's digging (especially at Ugarit) has increased the number of tablets available for historical scrutiny. Therefore the present investigation cannot be looked upon as definitive. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the historical synthesis as set forth will serve as a stimulus to further and more productive research.

Plan and Procedure

Organization of the study. The chapters that follow have been grouped into two parts. Part One deals with the military moves and countermoves of the Hittite, Mitannian, and Egyptian empires as they found themselves confronting each other in Syria. Chapter One begins with a summary of the five Syrian campaigns of Šuppiluliuma and their relationship to the Amarna years as interpreted by the present study. Chapter Two attempts to relate the first Syrian foray of Šuppiluliuma and a subsequent Mitannian counterattack to events referred to in the missives dispatched to Egypt from Syrian vassal states. The issue at stake here is to establish a historical background to Šuppiluliuma's further military moves. Chapter Three represents the "heart" of the presentation. It seeks to demonstrate that Šuppiluliuma's second violation of Egypt's borderland occurred during the final year of Akhenaten's reign, and not nine years later at the time of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's death, as traditional interpretation of the Hittite materials imply.

Part Two narrows down the investigation to the political processes which were unfolding in the Syrian state of Amurru during the same years as covered by Chapter Three. An initial summary of Aziru's career is followed by Chapter Five which seeks to show that the conclusions reached in Chapter Three are compatible with events as they are known to have transpired during the public life of Aziru, chieftain of Amurru. The remainder of the present study is given over to a series of Appendices dealing with specific historical problems related to the present investigation. A chronological Table is provided on page 163.

Method of citations. Books, articles, and journals have been cited in accordance with accepted abbreviations. Ancient texts are referred to by publication number in the case of tablets and by commonly accepted titles.

Deserving special mention is the method of citation used for a number of extant feudal (or suzerainty) treaties concluded between various Syrian states and the Hittite monarch, Šuppiluliuma, during the course of the famous conqueror's growing dominance over the northeastern Mediterranean littoral. The majority of these treaties are published in E. F. Weidner's *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (*Boghazköi Studien*, VIII, 1923). For clarity the following abbreviations will be used:

PD, No. 1 - the treaty between Mattiwaza of Mitanni and Šuppiluliuma. (Cf. *ANET*, p. 318 and the literature cited there.) *PD*, No. 1 = *KBo*, I, 1.

PD, No. 2 - a duplicate of the Mattiwaza treaty just cited. *PD*, No. 2 = *KBo*, I, 2.

PD, No. 3 - the Tette of Nuhašše, Šuppiluliuma treaty. *PD*, No. 3 = *KBo*, I, 4.

PD, No. 4 - the Aziru of Amurru, Šuppiluliuma treaty (Akkadian version). For the Hittite version, cf. *KBo*, X, 13. *PD*, No. 4 = *KUB*, III, 7.

PD, No. 5 - the Duppi-Tešub of Amurru, Muršili II treaty. (Cf. *ANET*, pp. 203-205.) *PD*, No. 5 = *KBo*, V, 9.

The method adopted herein for citing texts from the Tell el-Amarna archives requires a word of explanation. Texts 1-358 is the numbering found in the editions of J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1907-1915) and S. A. B. Mercer, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets* (Toronto, 1939). Following the suggestion of C. H. Gordon (*Orientalia*, 16 [1947], p. 1, note 2), which is adhered to by E. F. Campbell (*The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, p. 79, note 29), the list of Amarna tablets beyond text 358 is as follows:

Text 359 - Schroeder 193 - Mercer 359

Text 360 - Schroeder 179 - Mercer 360

Text 361 - Schroeder, *OLZ*, 1917 - Mercer 361

Text 362 - Louvre *AO* 7093 - Mercer 129a

Text 363 - Louvre *AO* 7097 - Mercer 176a

Text 364 - Louvre *AO* 7094 - Mercer 256a

Text 365 - Louvre *AO* 7098 - Mercer 248a

Text 366 - Louvre *AO* 7096 - Mercer 290a

Text 367 - Louvre *AO* 7095 - Mercer 222a

Text 368 - Cuneiform vocabulary text - Mercer 355a

Text 369 - Brussels (Musées Royaux) E. 6753 - Mercer 31a

Texts 370-377 - as in C. H. Gordon's article

Texts 359 and 360 are to be found in O. Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna*, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, XII (Leipzig, 1915); text 361 was published by O. Schroeder, "Zu Berliner Amarnatexten," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 20 (1917), pp. 105f.; texts 362-367 by F. Thureau-Dangin, "Nouvelles lettres d'El-Amarna," *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, 19 (1921), pp. 91-108; text 368 by S. Smith and C. J. Gadd, "A Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 11 (1925), pp. 230-240; text 369 by G. Dossin, "Une nouvelle lettre d'El-Amarna," *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, 31 (1934), pp. 125-136, and "Une lettre d'Aménophis III," *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique*, 20 (1934), a photograph opposite p. 86; and texts 370-377 by C. H. Gordon, "The New Amarna Tablets," *Orientalia*, 16 (1947), pp. 1-21.

The present study owes a tremendous debt to the labors of those scholars, frequently cited, who have given their lives to interpreting the new data that the field archaeologists unearth. Singled out for special acknowledgment, the author offers his respectful gratitude to Professor George E. Mendenhall who was the inspirer of the present study. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the generous help of Professor George G. Cameron, who along with Professor Mendenhall, gave considerable counsel and guidance in the project. To Professor Louis L. Orlin the writer expresses appreciation for his helpful bibliographical references. The sole responsibility for everything herein, however, must rest upon the author.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*.
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*.
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd edition, 1955.
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.
AT	Alalakh Tablet.
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*.
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary* (Univ. of Chicago).
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History, Revised Edition of Volumes* I and II (appearing in fascicles).
CoA I, II, III	*The City of Akhenaten* I, II, and III. Memoirs of the Egyptian Exploration Society, 38, 40, and 44.
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.
EA	El-Amarna Tablet; J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, cited by tablet number and page numbers.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*.
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Series*.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
JKF	*Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*.

List of Abbreviations (2)

JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*.
Klio	*Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*.
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*.
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*.
PD	E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, cited by Treaty-number, lines of text and page-numbers.
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*.
PRU II	C. Virolleaud, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, vol. II.
PRU III	J. Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, vol. III.
PRU IV	J. Nougayrol, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, vol. IV.
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archaéologie orientale*.
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique*.
RS	Ras Shamra Tablet.
SBo, I, II	H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazköy* I, II.
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*.
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina Vereins*.

PART ONE

THE SYRIAN INVASIONS OF ŠUPPILULIUMA

CHAPTER I

MOVES AND COUNTERMOVES OF IMPERIAL GIANTS

Part One consists of three chapters dealing with the five Syrian campaigns of Šuppiluliuma and their relationship to the sixteen Amarna years when Akhetaten served as the archival administrative center for Egyptian interest in Syria. Šuppiluliuma of Ḫatti had at some point previous to those years entered into a treaty of friendship (the so-called "Kuruštama" accord) with Amenhotep III of Egypt during a time when Egypt was enjoying peaceful prosperity (see Appendix II). Sometime after that event, and after Amenhotep III had visited the Phoenician coastal city of Ṣidon, Egypt's hold over western Asia began seriously to deteriorate as the local populations took on a more rebellious attitude toward their remote overlord (see Appendices III and IV).

The first Syrian foray. Shortly before Amenhotep III's thirty-fourth year and while Šuppiluliuma was married to the second of his three successive royal wives, the Hittite king conducted a comparatively brief and unsuccessful foray into North Syria. This first Syrian foray of Šuppiluliuma is reflected in the Amarna letters (EA 45, 75, and 17), in a letter from the king of Kargamiš (classical Carchemish) found at Ugarit (RS 8.333), and in the Hittite records which speak of Šuppiluliuma's military movements against the former Hittite vassal state of Išuwa and its close neighbor Kizzuwatna in southeastern Anatolia

(*PD*, Nos. 1 and 2; *KBo*, I, 5; *KUB*, III, 4). Hittite penetration south of Anatolia was probably caused by the foreign policy of Tušratta of Mitanni who as the leading dynast of a Ḫurrian confederacy (which controlled large sections of North Syria and Upper Mesopotamia), gave succor to the anti-Hittite, Ḫurrian populations of Išuwa and Kizzuwatna. Šuppiluliuma's armies invaded Syria somewhere to the south of Kizzuwatna and to the west of the Euphrates River (*i.e.*, west of Mitanni itself). After a skirmish with an army from Ugarit (a vassal of Egypt) in which an Ugaritic nobleman and others were taken captive, the Hittites succeeded in receiving nominal ("token") submission from Abdi-Aširta, prince of the Egyptian vassal state of Amurru. But when Šuppiluliuma directed his forces against his chief antagonist, Mitanni, he was so badly defeated that he was forced to withdraw his troops not only back into Anatolia but also from Išuwa.

The Mitannian attack. Some years later (possibly six to eight), Šuppiluliuma concluded a treaty with Artatama II, a prominent grandee of the Ḫurrian confederacy (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 1ff.). The treaty either confirmed Hittite recognition of Artatama as king of a Ḫurri land (bordering Mitanni) or possibly implied that Artatama was to be recognized as the leader of the greater Ḫurri land (*i.e.*, the Hurrian confederacy which included Mitanni). The treaty was an offense to Mitanni; its king Tušratta retaliated by declaring war on the Hittites. Tušratta and the lords of the Ḫurrian confederacy proceeded to bolster their defenses by a show of arms throughout the lower Orontes Valley and along the upper northeastern Mediterranean coast, the very region where the Hittites so recently had penetrated. Hittite sources speak of Tušratta asserting "his might" and even quoted a letter from Šarrupši, king of Nuḫašše (a middle Syrian state in vassalage to Egypt) who appealed to Šuppiluliuma to save him from Tušratta's "aggression". The Amarna sources (letters 85-86, 60, 90, 95 and 58) reflect the reaction of the Egyptian vassal states who felt that Tušratta was a fearful threat, endangering the political existence of the vassal states and violating Egyptian territory. Interestingly, Abdi-Aširta of Amurru, who was accused of making some sort of an accommodation with the Hittites during the first Syrian foray, complained to Pharaoh of the fact that the Ḫurrian confederacy persecuted his lands with violence. The Egyptian government, however, is seen to continue in its traditional friendly relationship with Mitanni. The available sources also imply that neither Šuppiluliuma nor Tušratta regarded their actions as in any way an offense to Egypt.

The first ^{c}Amqi attack. The following year the Hittite armies reoccupied Išuwa, successfully invaded Mitanni, and defeated the forces of Tušratta in a surprise strike from the hinterland of the north. By-passing the town of Kargamiš (Carchemish) which defied a Hittite assault, Šuppiluliuma crossed the Euphrates and proceeded victoriously westward and southward in a belated answer to Šarrupši's appeal. The lands that were considered to have been under the aegis of Mitannian suzerainty were subjected to a year-long invasion. Documents from the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša (principally *PD*, No. 1, obv. 17-47), Ugarit (RS 17.132, 17.227, 17.340), Qaṭna, and Akhetaten (EA 51, 55, 171, and other letters) converge to give a rather detailed picture of the campaign in both time and place. Of the four great vassal states to the west of Mitanni, Ḫalba and Mukiš were defeated in battle, Ugarit surrendered peacefully, while Kargamiš stubbornly held out. The lesser states of Nuḫašše, Niʾi, Qaṭna, Qadeš, and other lands were overrun by the advancing Hittite troops in spite of fierce resistance. In disregard of the fact that Ugarit, Nuḫašše, Qaṭna, and Qadeš were traditional Egyptian vassal states, Šuppiluliuma viewed his campaign as an attack against Ḫurri land. Not until the Hittites crossed over into the region of ^{c}Amqi (the Biqā^{c} Valley) to fight the lords of Upe (the Damascene) did the Hittites consider that they had violated Egyptian territory (thereby causing the first offense to the treaty sanctions which had been solemnly ratified between Ḫatti and Egypt; it was the first of three violations known in the present study as the first, second, and third ^{c}Amqi attacks). Ugaritic sources reflecting the campaign indicate that this first ^{c}Amqi attack occurred sometime after Akhenaten's sixth regnal year and late in Šuppiluliuma's reign, while the Hittite was married to his third (and last) royal queen. Letters found in the Amarna archives from Assyria (EA 15 and 16) reveal that its king, Aššur-uballiṭ I, was in the process of freeing his nation from its servitude as a prominent vassal of Mitanni. Since Aššur-uballiṭ outlived Burnaburiaš of Babylon by a considerable margin, and since the latter sent a warning to Akhenaten's successor, Tut^{c}ankhamūn, that Babylon had imperialistic designs against Assyria (EA 9), it becomes most probable that the first ^{c}Amqi attack which disintegrated the Mitannian empire, thereby to engender Assyrian independence, took place late in Akhenaten's reign. Such a conclusion is independently confirmed by Tušratta's letters to the Egyptian court (EA 26-29) which picture that monarch still ruling an undefeated realm until sometime after the death of Amenhotep III (which would be about the twelfth year of Akhenaten if a coregency is accepted). Thus it may have been in Akhenaten's thirteenth year that Šuppiluliuma initiated his year-long invasion into Syria. The Hittite campaign left Tušratta on a tottering throne over a Mitanni which had become very reduced in both size and influence. It was possibly shortly afterwards that Tušratta was assassinated by one of his own sons.

The second ᶜAmqi attack. Toward the close of Akhenaten's seventeen-year reign the Hittites renewed military activity in Syria. At the same time Aitagama of Qadeš and Aziru of Amurru emerge as the most active antagonists of Egyptian interest in Syria. A combination of Hittite and Egyptian records make it very probable that an Egyptian attack against Aitagama's Qadeš (concomitant with an Egyptian-imposed banishment of Aziru from Syria) took place in the year of Akhenaten's death, and not in the year of Tutᶜankhamūn's demise as is generally held. The attack was looked upon by the Hittites as a declaration of war against Ḫatti. Šuppiluliuma therefore ordered a second ᶜAmqi attack against that Egyptian borderland. A leader of the Hittite expeditionary force was Lupakki, who figures prominently in the Amarna sources as a Hittite general attacking this same ᶜAmqi region. The Hittite records and the Amarna sources thus seem to be reflecting the same event--the second ᶜAmqi border violation. It is therefore concluded that the events connected with the second ᶜAmqi attack are to be posited late in the Amarna years (which terminate in the fourth year of Tutᶜankhamūn's reign). This means that the death of Pharaoh *Nibḫururiya* which was reported to Šuppiluliuma at this time must refer to the death of Akhenaten, though the name is actually the cuneiform rendition of Tutᶜankhamūn's prenomen.

The third ᶜAmqi attack. Receiving an offer, presumably from Nefertiti, Akhenaten's queen, that an Egyptian throne awaited a Hittite prince, Šuppiluliuma sent a personal envoy to Egypt. A year later the Hittite monarch renewed the peace treaty he had originally ratified with Amenhotep III and sent his son Zannanza to be crowned king of Egypt. Shortly afterwards, receiving the news of the treacherous murder of Zannanza within Egyptian territory, a third Hittite violation of the land of ᶜAmqi was ordered by the enraged Šuppiluliuma. This time the attack was led by Prince Arnuwanda and occurred within the first or second regnal year of Tutᶜankhamūn, the successor of Akhenaten to the Egyptian throne. As there are only two or three Amarna tablets (EA 9, 210, and possibly 209) which may possibly be dated this late in the Amarna era, it is not surprising that the Amarna sources fail to reflect this latter attack (see Appendix I).

The Mattiwaza war. Meanwhile, another army had been sent by the famed Hittite conqueror to subdue again Mitanni as a Hittite vassal. This campaign signified the final reorganization of Syria into a series of small vassal kingdoms subject to the Hittites in the tradition of conquered states. Hittite control of Syria, however, did not extend farther south than the ᶜAmqi boundary line which corresponded to the Biblical northern border of Canaan.

The salient issues. If the interpretation of events, as here offered, proves itself as a working hypothesis, strong enough to be measured against the demands of the available historical data, it will be of value in clearing away commonly held historical discrepancies bearing on the Amarna Age. Foremost is the notion that Akhenaten passively sat in Egypt while his vassal states pled for military assistance which never came (cf. L. A. White, *JAOS*, 68 [1948], pp. 110-111). According to the view of the present study, this was not the case. In the last year of his reign, Akhenaten apparently did send forth an army to deal with the deteriorating situation confronting Egypt in Syria. Also challenged is the widely-held view that Šuppiluliuma attacked Kargamiš in the year of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's death. In light of the sequence offered, however, this event is to be placed nine years earlier within the Amarna Age.

In arriving at the conclusions set forth (which remain to be tested and documented in the following two chapters), particular attention has been given to relating Šuppiluliuma's three violations of the so-called "Kuruštama" treaty (enumerated in the "Plague Prayers" of Muršili II) to the Amarna letters emanating from Syria. If the Amarna literary materials, which came to an end by the fourth regnal year of Tut^{c}ankhamūn, reflect three separate occasions when the Hittite conqueror violated Egypt's ^{c}Amqi border region, then all historical events associated with these three attacks (such as Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Kargamiš at the time of the second ^{c}Amqi raid) must be compressed within the sixteen Amarna years.

For a background to the "Kuruštama" treaty and a discussion of the "Plague Prayers," the reader is invited to refer to Appendix II. Further arguments bearing on the relationship of Šuppiluliuma's second border violation to the Amarna years are discussed in Appendix VI.

CHAPTER II

ŠUPPILULIUMA CONTACTS THE MITANNI EMPIRE

The First Syrian Foray of Šuppiluliuma

The Boghazkoy materials. A reconstruction of Hittite history during the Amarna years possibly may be better understood if the three phases of Šuppiluliuma's career are briefly reviewed.

1. The earliest phase finds Šuppiluliuma first as a general under his father, and then as a youthful ruler preoccupied in defending his country. At this time Ḫatti had not yet recovered from a series of disastrous attacks (*KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 6-15).

2. The second phase of the monarch's public life is to be posited in the period characterized by the growth and consolidation of the Hittite empire. Former Anatolian vassals--such as Arzawa--were reconquered. Ḫatti, during this era, came to enjoy a dominant position throughout Asia Minor (*KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 16-18).

3. The final phase did not come until after the "lost Anatolian territories" had already been "reduced to order." Not until this point had been reached was Šuppiluliuma free to venture outside traditional Hittite holdings within Anatolia to win his military laurels in the international arena of North Syria (*KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 19-25).

As *KUB*, XIX, 9 (lines 5-6) intimates, it took "twenty years" for the completion of the first and second phases of Šuppiluliuma's momentous career.[1] That Šuppiluliuma's first Syrian venture took place before--and not after--this "twenty-year" period will become self-evident with a review of the pertinent sources. At the time of the first Syrian foray, southeastern Anatolia was not yet within the grasp of the Hittite conqueror. "Ḫurri land" remained independent, blocking Hittite military might from the Syrian states. Nevertheless, it was this first Syrian razzia that opened up southeastern Anatolia to Hittite influence; thus paving the way for Šuppiluliuma's eventual conquest of Mitanni and the smaller kingdoms of North Syria.

In KBo, VI, 28 the country of Išuwa (a region in the bend of the Euphrates near modern Harput)[2] is listed as one of the number of countries which previously sacked the then crumbling Hittite empire. Numbered among the "lost Anatolian territories," which the Hittites were to recover during the twenty years, Išuwa is found involved in the machinations of the debacle of the first Syrian foray. In the description of the later "great Syrian" campaign, Išuwa is spoken of as a country which, though it had been previously vanquished, Šuppiluliuma had to subdue for a second time (PD, No. 1, obv. 19). It is to this previous occasion of Išuwa's first defeat that the interest of this study now turns, for it is at this time that the extant sources begin to furnish information of Šuppiluliuma's military moves toward southeastern Anatolia and beyond towards the lands of North Syria.

The expansion of the Hittite empire to a position of confrontation with Išuwa could not have been possible until enough time had elapsed for the Hittites to recover from the catastrophe portrayed in KBo, VI, 28. Nevertheless, this initial confrontation, in all likelihood, fell within the twenty-year era when Šuppiluliuma was forming and stabilizing his Anatolian empire. Išuwa's first capitulation, it is recalled, took place prior to the "great Syrian" campaign. Confirmation of this chronological assessment comes from sources pertaining to the Hittite rape of Kizzuwatna. It is significant in more than one way that the country of Kizzuwatna, a neighbor to the west of Išuwa, should feel the advancing brunt of Ḫatti's might. From the "protectorate" treaty, imposed by Šuppiluliuma upon Šunaššura II, the ruler of Kizzuwatna,[3] several valuable historical items are uncovered:

1. The text of the treaty implies that Šuppiluliuma's first military success over Išuwa was followed by the immediate capitulation of Kizzuwatna to the famed conqueror (*KBo*, I, 10).

2. As the "Šunaššura accord" is dated to the "reign" of Ḫenti (*KUB*, XIX, 25), Šuppiluliuma's second royal spouse (of three successive great queens),[4] there emerges a relatively precise placement of Išuwa's "previous vanquishment" into the "three-phase" framework of the great conqueror's career. Ḫenti's tenure as royal wife is easily ascertained. Not holding the office of "great queen" either during the commencement of Šuppiluliuma's career (as that was when the first royal spouse was active), nor during the "great Syrian" campaign (the suzerainty treaties by then had replaced her name by that of the third royal spouse),[5] Ḫenti's prominence is undoubtedly to be found during the latter half of Šuppiluliuma's twenty years of Anatolian conquests. A synchronism is thus established which places the first fall of Išuwa, together with Kizzuwatna's humiliation, into the second phase of Šuppiluliuma's career (well into his reign, but prior to both the "great Syrian" campaign and the close of the twenty-year era).

Significant also is the fact that the neighboring countries of Išuwa and Kizzuwatna effectively barred the Hittites from access to Syria. The removal of this barrier was a task which had to be accomplished if Šuppiluliuma would ever contemplate any military ventures into Syria. As one prominent Hittitologist has observed:[6]

> The domination of the Hittites over Syria presupposes nonexistence or prior defeat of Kizzuwatna. Šuppiluliumas, before embarking upon his Syrian campaigns, had to come to an understanding with Kizzuwatna by peaceful or by warlike means. The result of the struggle can be gathered from the treaty between him and Šunaššura which establishes a protectorate of the Hittite over Kizzuwatna.

The foreign policy of Mitanni seems to have been the real irritant which drew Šuppiluliuma's attention more and more toward the area south of Anatolia. It was to the "Ḫurri country" that the people of Išuwa fled when first overwhelmed by the Hittite conqueror's might (KBo, I, 11); it was toward the "Ḫurri country" that Kizzuwatna sporadically turned for succor when stiffening her resistance against Ḫatti (ibid., lines 5-7; 30-33). Given the equation that the "Ḫurri country" is partially synonymous with Mitanni land--an equation substantiated by the fact that in PD, Nos. 1 and 2 Šuppiluliuma names his enemy as Tušratta (of Mitanni), while in his annals he refers to the same enemy as the "king of Ḫurri land"[7]--it becomes probable that the conqueror's anger was directed against the anti-Hittite, Ḫurrian grandees who held a measure of political power in Mitanni. Hence it comes as no surprise that with the pacification of Išuwa and then Kizzuwatna, the Hittite king turned his fury against the traditionally dominant suzerain of the Ḫurri lands, the king of Mitanni.

At this point the materials from Boghazkoy start to dovetail with the Amarna sources found in Egypt. The Boghazkoy sources seemingly would indicate that the Hittite invasion was aimed at Mitanni from the northwest--from the area of Kizzuwatna and Išuwa. This impression is also reflected in the Amarna letters originating from North Syria. Suggestive documentation (examined below) sees Šuppiluliuma moving at first in a southerly direction (possibly toward the Alalaḫ-Ḫalba region), threatening not only the North Syrian feudal vassals of Mitanni (EA 75:36-38), but also such Egyptian vassal states as Ugarit (EA 45) and Amurru (EA 75:41-42). Superior Mitannian forces, however, soon temporarily stemmed the militant Hittite advance; Šuppiluliuma, for a season, was turned back (EA 17:31-45).

The Amarna sources. It may be imagined that the North Syrian principalities were awed by the frightening Hittite advances which threatened not only their homeland but also their somewhat lax relationship with their remote overlord, Egypt. Reports of the success that followed the commencement of the famous conqueror's first Syrian incursion must have quickly reached their council chambers.

The plea for Egyptian assistance by Ammištamru I (*[LU Am-m]i-iš-tam-[ru]*, king of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast), provides rare, but tangible evidence of the Hittite impact. The fragmentary condition of his letter (EA 45)[8] is legible enough to ascertain that two warning messages were sent to Ammištamru by the "king of [Ḫatti]" threatening that kinglet with "hostilities" unless Ugarit would officially recognize the escalating rise of the Hittite's dominance. While the exact particulars of Šuppiluliuma's demands, due to the condition of the letter, are lost to posterity, the implications found therein cannot be missed. Šuppiluliuma had twice sent a message to

Ammištamru, evidently demanding acceptance of Hittite terms for surrender. Fearful both for his own independence and of potential Egyptian revenge if Ugarit should peaceably succumb to the Hittite demands, Ammištamru wrote to Pharaoh of his predicament. Revealingly, at a later date, when Ugarit finally did fall into the growing political orbit of the Hittite empire, nothing is said in the pertinent suzerainty treaties about Ammištamru I. Significantly these treaties begin their history of Ugarit's vassalage to Ḫatti not with Ammištamru, but with his son and successor on the throne, Niqmaddu II.[9] It may thus be safe to speculate that Ammištamru, as his letter to Egypt intimates, failed to capitulate to Hittite intrusion.

It is with confidence born from solid evidence (i.e., from Ugaritic texts bearing on the sequence of the Late Bronze Ugaritic kings) that Ammištamru's missive is here regarded as reflecting events of the first Syrian foray. The fact that Niqmaddu II was already on the Ugaritic throne during Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign would mean that Ammištamru I and his agitated letter from the Amarna correspondence are to be associated with the initial Hittite aggression against Syria prior to the "great Syrian" invasion. Furthermore, the Ammištamru of EA 45 can only be Ammištamru I; Ammištamru II does not appear on the historical scene until long after the cessation of Amarna's international archives.[10]

Among the documents uncovered from Ugarit is an Akkadian letter (RS 8.333) written by the king of Kargamiš (situated to the west of Mitanni, on the banks of the Euphrates) to this same Ammištamru I.[11] The letter revolves around two requests which Ammištamru had presented to the king of Kargamiš to which the latter answered with negative replies.[12]

> The first request seems to have been for the return of two men of Ugarit who had been [held captive] by . . . Semitic nomads (*Sutû*) and sold by them to a slave-dealer of Carchemish. . . . [In the second request] the king of Ugarit . . . offered a hundred shekels as ransom for a captive, . . . The king of Carchemish refused to consider the offer . . .

Because of the curt tone of the letter, in which the king of Kargamiš abruptly dismissed the requests made by Ugarit, it appears that Ammištamru--at that moment--was considered an inconsequential political figure with whom the neighboring city-states could safely ignore. As the Syrians themselves looked upon Ugarit as an extremely important kingdom (EA 89:48-53), such a state of affairs would seem to indicate that Ugarit had suffered a humiliation, presumably by a recent war. The contents of the requests themselves, centering as they do around personages from Ugarit who had been led into captivity, imply that a correspondence had arisen between Ugarit and Kargamiš as a sequel to a war in which the forces of Ammištamru had been defeated.[13]

Particularly apropos in pointing toward such a conclusion is a reference in the Kargamiš letter to an Ugaritic captive whom Ammištamru was willing to ransom for a hundred shekels. This was an unusual offer since the average price for a slave was only thirty to forty shekels![14] To command such a steep price, it would appear that the valued captive was not an ordinary slave, but rather a high ranking official who previously had been in the employ of the Ugaritic king.[15] The existence of such an extraordinary captive surely must reflect a recent debacle suffered in battle by an Ugaritic army. The fact that Ammištamru I did receive threatening messages from Šuppiluliuma (EA 45), implies that the conflict in question was with the Hittites.

The question of how these war captives of Ugaritic origin fell into the hands of the nomadic Sutū[16] can be left only to speculation. It seems safe to assume, however, that it was not the politically unimportant Sutū of the Syrian steppe who were the cause of Ugarit's humiliation. Šuppiluliuma is known to have advanced to the west of Mitanni; he did threaten Ammištamru I of Ugarit; his first Syrian incursion is known for its lack of success. It thus would appear that the Kargamiš letter represents the situation in northwest Syria as one would imagine it to have been in the wake of the first Syrian foray. Certain warriors from Ugarit may have been taken captive by the Hittites (after Ugarit was attacked, but not conquered) and later sold into slavery (or ransomed?) upon the withdrawal of Šuppiluliuma's army into Anatolia.[17]

A strong indicator of Šuppiluliuma's armed intrusion into northwestern Syria is found in EA 75 (lines 35-40). Here Rib-Haddi reports to Pharaoh that the Hittite king has overcome "all lands that belonged to the king of Mita<nni>," and that Abdi-Aširta of Amurru has gone over to the Hittite.[18] This reference, found early in the Rib-Haddi correspondence, suggests that Abdi-Aširta may have made a nominal submission to the Hittite king. If it was a submission entailing the rendering of tribute,[19] no hint is to be found that it was coupled with any kind of a treaty. Rib-Haddi later showed that he always regarded Abdi-Aširta as a regent of Pharaoh. When informed of the high-handed murder of the conniving Amorite chieftain, he expressed shock and dismay at an act which should display such callous indifference to a servant of Pharaoh: ". . . they [the Amorites] have killed Abdi-Aširta whom the king (i.e., Pharaoh) had placed over them, not they themselves!" (EA 101:29-31)[20]

Given the known character of Abdi-Aširta as revealed in the Amarna materials, it becomes a foregone conclusion that at the time of letter 75 Abdi-Aširta was but implementing a policy he had already successfully put into practice; a policy calculated to play both sides of the political fence for personal advantage.[21] Like the Israelite king, Jehu, who centuries later (841 B.C.) paid tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria in order to insure his continued independence, Abdi-Asirta is to be seen exuding goodwill to whoever is the dominating power while actually working to throw off all political ties that encumbered him.

The haunting specter of a successful Hittite invasion into Syria, which to Rib-Haddi on the Phoenician coast at Byblos seemed like an impending avalanche of victories, did not materialize. Both Boghazkoy and Amarna sources agree that the troops of Ḫatti did not even reach as far south as the northern tier of the Egyptian vassal states. As the silence in the later Hittite-Syrian, suzerainty treaties indicate, not only did the borders of Amurru and Nuḫašše remain unviolated, but also the Syrian coastal region north to (and including) Ugarit.[22] The Rib-Haddi letter itself makes it evident that the Hittite foray did not penetrate into territory claimed by Egypt. According to letter 75, only vassals of Mitanni were affected.

As far as can be ascertained, such Syrian rulers of this period as Abdi-Aširta of Amurru, Ammištamru I of Ugarit, and Šarrupši of Nuḫašše (the Lu^{c}aš of the eighth century B.C. [Zakir Stela]; the region between Ḫalba and the Orontes River)[23] were politically unscathed by the Hittite. The historical prologues to the suzerainty treaties which the Hittites eventually established with these respective countries are careful to observe how the relationship was first determined. From a perusal of these treaties it may readily be seen that none of these rulers fell under the overlordship of Šuppiluliuma.

The fact that Šarrupši later appealed to the famed Hittite conqueror as a "servant" does not of itself imply any prior recognition. In II Kings 16:7, Ahaz of independent Judah made the identical type of appeal to Tiglathpileser III! The first event mentioned in the preamble of *PD*, No. 3 is about the cause that prompted Šarrupši's appeal, not about any past Hittite relationship with Šarrupši himself.[24] By the time Šuppiluliuma acted on this appeal (during the "great Syrian" campaign), Šarrupši was found to be dead (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 38).

The evidence bearing on the severe reversal which the troops of Šuppiluliuma suffered at the time of his initial penetration into Syria is found in a letter of Tušratta of Mitanni to the Egyptian court (EA 17). In lines 31-38 it is learned that the Hittites badly floundered against the strategic defense preparations of Mitanni. As will be seen, subsequent military maneuvers of the Hittites interestingly reveal that Mitanni must have made an almost impenetrable defense against any Hittite attack from the northwest. Beset and turned back by heavy losses, the first Syrian foray served as a bitter lesson to the Hittite king.[25]

The severity of the Hittite debacle, which effectively terminated Šuppiluliuma's advance, is told by Tušratta in but a few passing lines in his letter. There he incidentally speaks of a sample of the spoils taken as booty, which the Mitannian king promises to send to Pharaoh. The lines of particular interest, however, are Tušratta's boast that though the Hittites entered within the borders of Mitanni itself, not one Hittite was able to return to his land (EA 17:34-35).

The chronological placement of the first Syrian foray. It has been seen that there are three Syrian rulers who were contemporaries of Šuppiluliuma's first Syrian incursion; namely, Abdi-Aširta of Amurru, Ammištamru I of Ugarit, and possibly Šarrupši of Nuḫašše. It is important to recall that the first Syrian foray took place shortly after the fall of the southeastern Anatolian countries of Išuwa and Kizzuwatna, during the reign of Ḫenti, Šuppiluliuma's second "great queen." All these political figures will have passed from the historical scene by the time the Hittite conqueror "struck" for the second time into Syria.

Besides Ḫenti, another queen also should be considered, whose importance looms equally crucial for the relative placement of Šuppiluliuma's initial foray into Syria. She is Gilu-Ḫepa, the sister of Tušratta of Mitanni and the wife of Amenhotep III. In letter 17 of the Amarna corpus--the very letter in which Tušratta speaks of his success in defeating Hittite forces--particular mention is made of gifts that the Mitannian king was to send to Gilu-Ḫepa in Egypt (lines 41-45). The figure of Gilu-Ḫepa appearing at this historical juncture may indicate a time prior to the thirty-sixth year of Amenhotep III's reign. Such a conclusion is arrived at by dividing Tušratta's correspondence with Amenhotep III into three phases:

1. An early period is posited when Gilu-Ḫepa was married to Amenhotep III. In this first phase no mention is made in the Mitanni correspondence of Tušratta's daughter, Tadu-Ḫepa, who seemingly did not marry Amenhotep III until after the death of her aunt, Gilu-Ḫepa.

2. The second phase of the Mitanni letters is marked by the tedious, drawn-out negotiations, so typical of the Orient, by which Amenhotep III sought to win the hand of Tadu-Ḫepa.

> EA 29:26 mentions in retrospect a period of 3 months in one preliminary stage of the negotiations, while EA 20:23, 15-16, mentions a further period of 6 months, promising that Taduhepa should be sent within the year.[26]

The event of Gilu-Ḫepa's death presumably caused Amenhotep III to seek a "replacement" for her, "to maintain the marriage-alliance of the Egyptian and Mitannian royal houses."[27]

3. The last phase of Tušratta's correspondence is marked by the prominence of Tadu-Ḫepa at the Egyptian court. By this time she had become a wife of the great Pharaoh. That Tadu-Ḫepa's married life is to be assigned to the final years of Amenhotep III is deduced from letter 23. As an Egyptian hieratic docket is imprinted on EA 23, dating that letter to Pharaoh's thirty-sixth year, an obvious criterion emerges for the correct synchronizing of the letters between Tušratta and Amenhotep III within the Amarna Age. Needless to say, it is in this important letter--the extant "copy" of which is preserved in EA 23[28]--that Tušratta refers to his daughter, Tadu-Ḫepa, as already a wife of Amenhotep III (line 7).

What may be gathered from the foregoing analysis is this: Amenhotep III had been married to Gilu-Ḫepa. But by his thirty-sixth regnal year (at the latest) he had married her successor Tadu-Ḫepa. As marriage negotiations in antiquity took some time, the date of Gilu-Ḫepa's death must be pushed back (at least) to a time prior to her husband's thirty-fourth regnal year. This means that EA 17, with its reference to Gilu-Ḫepa as a wife of Amenhotep III, was written before that monarch's year thirty-four. Since EA 17 also mentions Šuppiluliuma's initial military incursion into Syria, that invasion, too, must have occurred earlier than that date.

The knowledge that the first Syrian foray of the Hittite conqueror took place prior to Amenhotep III's thirty-fourth year supplies a terminus post quem for that event. To say that the invasion took place in the period spanned by the Amarna letters (EA 45, 75, and 17) still leaves the date for the terminus ante quem in rather vague terms. Of assistance in determining a terminus ante quem for the first Syrian foray are the Tušratta letters recovered from Amarna. As the entire corpus of thirteen letters involving Tušratta with Egypt covered a ten- to fifteen-year period only,[29] and as that monarch continued to correspond with Egypt even after Amenhotep III's death (EA 26-29), a certain amount of chronological control over the data becomes available. If Tušratta can be shown to have lived beyond Akhenaten's year twelve, then it follows that Šuppiluliuma's first Syrian invasion, referred to in the Tušratta letters, must be placed within a fifteen-year period extending well into the Amarna years.[30] Even if Tušratta only lived to see the first few years of Akhenaten's reign, it would still mean that the terminus ante quem for Šuppiluliuma's first moves into Syria cannot be too many years removed from Akhenaten's accession to office (cf. the chronological Table - Appendix I).

The fact that Tušratta did live beyond Amenhotep III's death, to continue a correspondence as an equal with Egypt's royal family, indicates that Amenhotep III did not live to witness Šuppiluliuma's destruction of the Mitannian empire. Several years thus were to elapse between

Šuppiluliuma's first Syrian incursion and his later year-long campaign of conquests.[31]

The Mitannian Counterattack

The casus belli. In the historical prologue of a suzerainty treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Mattiwaza of Mitanni (*PD*, No. 1) are found the words:[32]

> Whereas, at the time when Šuppiluliumaš the great king, the hero, the king of the Hittite country, the favorite of the Storm-god, and Artatama, the king of Ḫurrian country, had concluded a treaty with each other, Tušratta, king of Mitanni land, asserted his might. . . .

Historically important is the statement that Tušratta went to war ("asserted his might"). The *casus belli* of his aggression was the fact that Šuppiluliuma concluded a treaty with Artatama II, king of the Ḫurrian country.

The existence of two principalities, a Ḫurri land and a Mitanni land, as set forth in Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Mattiwaza, is a point of some confusion. In Šuppiluliuma's own annals (as later recorded by his son), the Hittite conqueror is observed referring to Tušratta as "king of the Ḫurri land" (Colophon of A, 7th Tablet, E, IV).[33] Tušratta in his own texts designates himself as both "lord of Mitanni" and "lord of Ḫurri land" (EA 24 III:103-104; IV:127). Where one may legitimately expect to find "Mitanni," "Ḫurri" is specified. A paradoxical question thus is raised: how can there be a "Ḫurri land" separate from "Mitanni" when the latter country itself was known as "Ḫurri land"?[34]

The answer is found in the peculiar interrelationship which existed between a number of Syrian "lands" (*matāti*) during the Late Bronze Age. During that era North Syria possessed a ruling aristocracy of Ḫurrians, interrelated by marriage and characterized by a distinctly feudal social structure, which they apparently owed to an earlier symbiosis with Indo-Aryan groups.[35] Northernmost Syria was traditionally distinct as a loose confederation of Ḫurrian states, frequently headed by a strong dynast. Whichever king gained the greatest political strength (from among the Ḫurrian nobility) presumably would be the one recognized as the leading dynast whose suzerainty extended over the entire league.[36]

In the Amarna Age, the leading dynast of this confederacy was Tušratta of Mitanni. It is he who is referred to in EA 60 which speaks about "all kings of the king of the Ḫurri people" (lines 13-14). When Šuppiluliuma concluded a treaty with the Ḫurrian monarch Artatama,[37] calling him "king of Ḫurri land," the Hittite monarch possibly was recognizing Artatama as suzerain over the entire Ḫurrian league. Tušratta took offense, considering this heavy-handed diplomacy an act of war. Šuppiluliuma had interjected himself into the power structure of Ḫurrian politics. If the Mitannian dynasty was to retain its position of preeminence over North Syria, it must reunite the Ḫurrian lords and eradicate the interference.

Šarrupši's appeal for help. Imbedded within a preamble to a suzerainty treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Tette of Nuḫašše (*PD*, No. 3) is found a reference to a certain Šarrupši who initiated formal relations between the country of Nuḫašše (in central Syria) and Ḫatti. At that time Šarrupši sent a message to the great conqueror: "I am the servant of the king of Ḫatti! Save me!" (*PD*, No. 3, obv. 1:2-5).[38] The enemy from whom Šarrupši would be delivered is none other than Tušratta of Mitanni. According to the treaty just cited (*PD*, No. 3), the campaign which made the Hittite master of "all the lands of Nuḫašše" served the purpose of protecting Nuḫašše from Mitannian intrigues and aggression. Again, in *PD*, No. 1, in an account of the "great Syrian" campaign, Šuppiluliuma emphasized that his intervention in Syria was due to Tušratta's "arrogant behavior"[39] or, as it is also translated, "presumptuousness" (*multarriḫūtu*).[40]

The war which Tušratta inaugurated--the only aggression attributed to Mitanni during the Amarna Age--was designed to be defensive in nature. The Mitannian king must have been alarmed at Šuppiluliuma's encroaching suzerainty over the related Ḫurrian populations of Išuwa, Kizzuwatna, and Ḫurri land. Only such an explanation can account for his move, not directly against the Hittite, but southward in a seeming endeavor to restore his dynasty's ancient influence over North Syria. Tušratta was doing what Egypt had failed to do, making a show of armed might in Syria and rallying support for the Egypto-Mitannian cause in view of Hittite hostility. It was a time to crush disaffection.[41]

Tušratta's Syrian campaign and the Amarna letters. Rib-Haddi's letter 85 contains the fullest description of Tušratta's military incursion into Syria found in the Amarna letters. Written while Abdi-Aširta still was active, the letter was probably addressed (as argued in Appendix III) to Akhenaten. The crucial lines read: *ša-ni-tu LUGAL KUR <Mi>ta-na a-ṣi a-di URU Ṣu-mu-ra u yu-ba-u a-la-k[am a]-di URU Gub-la u ia-nu mū (A.MEŠ) a-na ša-te-šu u ta-ra a-na KUR-šu*, "Furthermore, the king of <Mi>tanni has gone forth to Ṣumur, and he sought to come against Byblos, but there was no water for him to drink, so he returned to his land" (lines 51-55). A pertinent corollary to Šarrupši's appeal thus is given. Apparently after marching towards Nuḫašše (southwest of Ḫalba), the Mitannian army veered westward toward the Phoenician coast.

The intelligence that Tušratta and his forces forded the Euphrates, crossed the northern reaches of the Orontes Valley, finally to turn southward at the seacoast (toward Ṣumur and Byblos) is of extreme value in assessing the campaign. This means that the lands under the lordship of Abdi-Aširta were violated. It is to be observed that Abdi-Aširta himself lived in the coastal town of Irqatu (modern Tell ᶜArqah in the plain of the mouth of the Eleutherus [el-Kebir] River), and that he claimed guardianship of two important port cities valued by Egypt in northern Phoenicia, namely Ṣumur and Ullaza (EA 60: 22-23).[42] Difficult of access from the land side, these cities seemed to have been intermittently supplied by an Egyptian fleet (eleppet amēlūt miši; EA 105:23-27). They were, of course, territories which lay directly in the path of Tušratta's march. It is therefore not surprising to find two letters speaking of the friction which ensued between Tušratta and Abdi-Aširta. Foremost is the exasperated complaint which Abdi-Aširta dispatched to Pharaoh:

> I have repeatedly said to Paḫamnata (the Egyptian rabiṣ of Ṣumur) . . . "Bring the (Egyptian) auxiliary troops to guard the lands of the king!" Now (see what has happened!) all kings of the king of the Ḫurri people are seeking to take violently the countries from my hands (EA 60:10-17).[43]

The Mitannian attack is seen as including "all" the confederate kings of Ḫurri (with the exception of Artatama?) under their overlord. Most interesting for this study, Abdi-Aširta attributes to Tušratta the formal epithet šar ṣābē Ḫurri, "king of the Ḫurri people;" a venerable title associated with the leader of the Ḫurrian confederacy from demonstrable antiquity.[44] Again the inference is intimated that the interlacing threads of a feudal Ḫurrian political structure are deeply involved in Tušratta's war. It is not only Tušratta alone that leads forth an army, but all the lords of greater Ḫurri land.

The second letter dealing with Abdi-Aširta's encounter with Tušratta's advancing forces speaks of a message which "the king of M[i]t[anni]" sent to "the [la]nd of Am[ur]ru" (EA 95:27-28). The message is probably to be interpreted as a sarcastic challenge flung down to Abdi-Aširta by Tušratta. The Mitannian king's words to the prince of Amurru are quoted by Rib-Haddi in a very badly damaged passage: *mi-nu K[UR] a[n-]n[i-t]u [m]a-[a]h-[d]a-a[t] KU[R-k]a*, "What land is this? Much is thy land!" (lines 29-31). Unfortunately, only enough of the letter is preserved to indicate the king of Mitanni's personal interest in the territories held by Amurru. The Amorite chieftain seems not to have responded as he was at that time quite ill (lines 41-42). The fact that Abdi-Aširta was "[ver]y sick" (line 41) during the time of the Mitannian war may have precipitated his murder within the same year, as will shortly be seen.

Rib-Haddi clearly felt that Tušratta's military moves were made in defiance of Egypt. His letter 95 (lines 27-31) insinuates that Mitanni was coveteous of Amurru. His letter 86, which is almost a duplicate of 85, speaks of much booty being taken to Mitanni (lines 8-12). These reports with their insinuations bearing on Tušratta's motives, which Rib-Haddi so urgently pressed upon the Egyptian court, do not appear credible in light of what is known of the political situation in North Syria. Letter 101 conveys the information that somewhat later, at the time of Abdi-Aširta's murder, a financial arrangement was concluded between Egypt and Mitanni (lines 9-10). Here, then, is to be found a sure indication of continued Egypto-Mitannian alliance of friendship even after Tušratta's disturbing military raid into the heart of Syria. The fact that Mitanni avoided violating Canaan's northern borders perhaps also is of interpretive significance; Tušratta may not have considered Egyptian interest as extending beyond the northern bounds of Canaan (cf. Appendix VIII). These considerations, together with the known *casus belli* of Tušratta's aggression, open to serious question Rib-Haddi's view concerning the underlying motives behind the Mitannian affair. That there was a southward drive by a threatening Mitannian force is, of course, unquestionable. However, such intelligence that the purpose of the foray was directed against Egypt, or that it was finally turned back by lack of water is not to be taken at face value from an insignificant Syrian prince who was removed from the interplay of international power politics.[45]

A further fleeting view of the Mitannian campaign is gained from letter 58, sent to the Egyptian court by a Ḫurrian prince named Qatiḫu-Tešub. From somewhere in North Syria he reports that "the king of Mitan<ni> has gone forth wi[th chariotry] and archers (*sābē piṭāti*)" (lines 4-6). The supposition that Tušratta marched southward to obtain pledges of submission from the North Syrian states receives additional support by a broken passage referring to other states submitting (line 8), but the letter is too badly fragmented to be definitive.

Chronologically illuminating at this point is a summation of the historical picture obtained. Imperiled by the sudden *entente* between Šuppiluliuma and Artatama II of Ḫurri, Tušratta went to war. This in turn prompted Šarrupši, the leading prince of Nuhašše, to appeal to the Hittite in order to ward off a threatened invasion by Mitanni. The cycle is complete when Šuppiluliuma, finding such erstwhile allies as Artatama and Šarrupši in danger of attack, retaliated against "Tušratta's arrogant behavior" by initiating his famous year-long "great Syrian" campaign.

If Tušratta's Syrian razzia took place in the spring of the year--the usual campaign season (II Sam. 11:1)--Šuppiluliuma's retaliatory military moves probably took place a year later.[46] It is at this juncture, between Tušratta's war and Šuppiluliuma's famed Syrian invasion, that Abdi-Aširta is lost sight of in the sources. As Chapter Five (with which cf. Appendix V) will conclusively show, an appraisal of EA 171 together with the Duppi-Tešub treaty (PD, No. 5) present Aziru as succeeding to his father's prominence in public affairs at a point in time prior to the "great Syrian" campaign. It is therefore of no little interest that a recent study of the interrelationship of the Amarna letters provides other considerations for placing the Mitanni war (as reflected in EA 85 and 86) toward the close of Abdi-Aširta's life. Letters 83-86 are established as having been written by Rib-Haddi immediately following Tušratta's Syrian incursion, the four letters forming a cluster containing the names of two men (Zemrēda and Yapa-Haddi). It is of synchronic significance that these are men known primarily not from the time of Abdi-Aširta, but as contemporaries of Abdi-Aširta's successor, Aziru.[47] The inference to be drawn is that letters 83-86 (which contain references to the Mitanni war) must be placed toward the very end of Abdi-Aširta's life.

The chronological inference which may be drawn from this dramatis personae, taken together with the conclusions presented here, are of consequence. Above and beyond the fact that Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign evidently is to be seen as following close on the heels of Tušratta's war, the murder of Abdi-Aširta and the sudden rise in the fortunes of Aziru--with all that this means to the chronology of the Amarna letters--emerge as an indispensable boon for establishing a basis for Syrian history during the Amarna years.

The sequence of events as laid down establishes a provisional focal point around which the diplomatic moves of the international powers and the Syrian city-states may be grouped. The Rib-Haddi correspondence consisting of two phases (the earlier letters characterized by references to Abdi-Aširta; the later letters obsessed by the threatening activities of Aziru) had reached the denouement of its first phase at the very brink of Šuppiluliuma's first ^{c}Amqi attack. The chronological importance of the year which saw the advent of Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign, is heightened not only because it marks the Abdi-Aširta, Aziru political turnover, or because Šuppiluliuma began an invasion into Syria, but by the very fact that the great conqueror changed the whole woof and warp of North Syria's political framework. It was a most momentous year. Tentatively placed as falling within the reign of Akhenaten, it forms a convenient and striking dividing line for the historian of early fourteenth century B.C. Syria.

The background for Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Syria has been marred by assumptions. The validity of the results obtained, however, will be subjected to severe challenge by the wealth of available sources touching on Šuppiluliuma's later moves.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1] That the twenty years did not include the time Šuppiluliuma was an army commander is inferred from KBo, VI, 28, obv. 6ff.: "Formerly the Hatti-lands were utterly ravaged by foes from outside. . . . But when my grandfather Su[ppiluliuma the Great] King, the Hero, became of age (?), he ascen[ded] the throne of kingship. [And] he [exp]elled [the foes] from Hatti-lands," K. A. Kitchen, Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs (Liverpool, 1962), p. 51. The sequence of events of Šuppiluliuma's reign has long vexed Hittitologists. However, H. Güterbock (JCS, 10 [1956], p. 42, n. 10 and in a letter to Jean Nougayrol published by the latter in the corrigenda to his PRU IV, p. 300), and A. Goetze ("Zur Chronologie der Hethiterkönige," Kleinasiatische Forschungen [1930], I, pp. 117-118; and "Randnoten zu Forrers 'Forschungen,'" ibid., p. 134) have independent of each other arrived at the interpretation presented here. Their insight pertains to the troublesome twenty-year period mentioned in KUB, XIX, 9. Past confusion over the application of this chronological item to Šuppiluliuma's reign stems from the unfortunate fact that the text becomes partially legible only with lines 5-6. A heavy line separates line 6 from the following section, indicating that what follows cannot be taken as a summary of what was said before. Consequently, it is Güterbock's observation that lines 5-6, "the end of the first mutilated paragraph," refers to "the catastrophe known from KBo, VI, 28" (e.g., the period of disastrous incursions by various Anatolian peoples against Ḫatti). The twenty years is thus taken to mean "all the time it took to restore [the Hittite] Empire." Cf. Güterbock in PRU IV, p. 300.

[2] A. Goetze, Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography (New Haven, 1940), p. 40.

[3] The treaty established for the king of Kizzuwatna an especially privileged position among the Hittite vassals; cf. Goetze, ibid., p. 78; McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant (Rome, 1963), p. 27. Kizzuwatna, a neighbor to the west of Išuwa (Goetze, op. cit., p. 40), was apparently located in Cilicia and extended at various times east across the Amanus. The country thus was strategically located in an intermediary position between Anatolia and Syria. The concensus of opinion concurs with Goetze's geographic placement of Kizzuwatna; cf. Albright's latest thinking in AJA, 65 (1961), p. 400, and the discussion of Michael C. Astour, Hellenosemitica (Leiden, 1965), pp. 22-30, who credits Sidney Smith as the first to locate correctly Kizzuwatna. Although the name of the Hittite king who concluded the treaty is broken away, it is certain that Šuppiluliuma had been Šunaššura II's partner, Goetze, op. cit., p. 36, n. 141. Weidner, Boghazköi-Studien (Leipzig, 1923), p. 90, erroneously took the Hittite king to be Muwatalli!

[4] A "peculiar feature of the Hittite monarchy is the strongly independent position of the queen. Her title, Tawannannas, derived from

Footnotes to Chapter II (2)

the name of her ancestor, the wife of [the first king of Ḫatti] King Labarnas, was inherited only on the death of her predecessor. Thus so long as the Queen Mother lived, the wife of the reigning king could only be styled 'the king's wife'" (O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* [Pelican Book, 1961], p. 66). That Ḫenti held the position of great queen (with the title Tawananna) during Kizzuwatna's submission to Ḫatti is apparent from the fact that her name appears on a document (*KUB*, XIX, 25; Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*..., pp. 12-13) recording the installation of Šuppiluliuma's son Telipinus as priest in Kizzuwatna. Among other impositions, this appointment of a Hittite prince to a decisive position in Kizzuwatnean affairs was undoubtedly aimed at breaking up the power of the kings of Kizzuwatna, already seriously undermined by the Šunaššura treaty (Goetze, *ibid*., p. 70).

[5] Cf. the discussion in Chapter III under the subtitle "Ugaritic sources and the 'great Syrian' campaign." The fact that Ḫenti was no longer "great queen" during Šuppiluliuma's subsequent activities in Syria is, of course, a most important chronological item. In a recent article entitled "Abimilki's news of the Danuna," *JEA*, 49 (1963), pp. 175-176, the late G. A. Wainwright erroneously attempted to explain EA 151:52-53 in the light of the Šuppiluliuma-Šunaššura treaty. The Abimilki correspondence (with its letter 151), however, is to be posited late in the Amarna period, well after the events leading up to Šuppiluliuma's first Syrian foray! Cf. Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1964), p. 71.

[6] A. Goetze, "On the Chronology of the Second Millennium B.C.," *JCS*, 11 (1957), p. 71. Significantly, Šuppiluliuma removed certain parts of Kizzuwatna from Šunaššura's jurisdiction, a policy which Goetze suggests was made to insure Ḫatti's possession of a corridor leading into Syria (*Kizzuwatna*..., p. 78).

[7] Goetze, *ibid*., pp. 39-40. Of special import is the fact that though the Hittite conquest of Qadeš carries with it the implication that that city was wrested from Tušratta's control (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 40-47), Šuppiluliuma's annals speak of the same conquest as a victory over the "king of Ḫurri-land" (Colophon of A, 7th Tablet, E, IV). As discussed in this chapter, Ḫurri land is not simply to be equated with Mitanni land. Rather, Tušratta of Mitanni is to be seen as the leading dynast of the Ḫurrian confederacy (*i.e.*, greater Ḫurri, including such kingdoms as Kargamiš, Ḫalba, and Mukiš and the blood-related aristocracy who ruled the vassal states pledged to Egypt. The political situation in North Syria was much more complex than is usually imagined.

[8] The five Amarna letters from Ugarit (45-49) are linked together by similarities of clay, script, scribal peculiarities, and general attitude. It was for these reasons that J. A. Knudtzon placed missive 45 among the group from Ugarit, though the name of its sender was not clear and was thought to read *Mištu*. Cf. the discussion of EA 45 in *PRU* III, p. xxxvii; *PRU* IV, p. 27.

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[9] *PRU* IV, pp. 35-52 (esp. RS 17.340, Pls. XLVIII-XLIX).

[10] *PRU* IV, pp. 6-9; 295.

[11] RS 8.333 was first published by Édouard Dhorme, "Lettre du roi de Kargamish au roi d'Ugarit," *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), I, pp. 203-207. Dhorme read the name of the recipient of the letter as *A-muk(?)-ud-ri*. Later W. F. Albright read the name as *A-šuk(?)-wa(!)-ri* (1941), but changed his reading to *Ataru* (1944); see "Two letters from Ugarit (Ras Shamrah)," *BASOR*, 82 (1941), p. 44, n. 7; "An Unrecognized Amarna Letter from Ugarit," *BASOR*, 95 (1944), p. 32. The Sumerian characters used for the "*šar māt Ugarit*" in question (in light of the known sequence of the Late Bronze Ugaritic kings) are not to be read *A.MUK.UD.RI*, but rather *A-miš-tam-ri* (the *MEZ* sign was misread for *MUK*, cf. René Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne* [Paris, 1959], article 314). Although the Akkadian tablet comes from the 1936 campaign at Ugarit, it has not been published in *PRU*. There is, however, a discussion of this text in *PRU* III, p. 8, n. 1. Dhorme interprets the letter as implying that the king of Ugarit was interested in a certain slave of Nana, a resident of Kargamiš. According to Dhorme's interpretation, this slave had taken a hundred shekels of silver from Ugarit's king and the sum subsequently had fallen into the hands of Sutian tribesmen. For a discussion on whether or not the recipient of RS 8.333 was Ammištamru I or Ammištamru II, see *infra*, note 17.

[12] The quotation is from Albright's comments in *BASOR*, 82 (1941), p. 46. The present study's interpretation of the Kargamiš letter adheres to that proposed by Albright (*ibid*., pp. 43-49). For Dhorme's view, cf. *supra*, note 11.

[13] Following the viewpoint of Albright: "We may suppose with considerable probability that this correspondence was a sequel to a war in which the king of Ugarit was defeated by the Hittites," *ibid*., p. 46.

[14] In this same letter under discussion, the king of Kargamiš wrote that he had sold certain Ugaritic captives for 40 shekels (lines 25-26). Cf. the comment of Roland de Vaux, O.P., "in the middle of the second millennium B.C. the market price of a slave was thirty shekels of silver at Nuzu, forty at Ugarit. . . . In Israel a slave cost thirty shekels according to Ex. 21:32, and this is the sum given to Judas to betray Jesus (Mt. 26:15)," *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, p. 84.

[15] So Albright, *loc. cit*.

[16] The Sutians were people of the steppe and desert who ranged as far north as the Euphrates (cf. the present Akkadian text from Kargamiš) and as far south as the highlands of Moab (cf. the Shethites of Num. 24:17). They were called Shasu in Egyptian inscriptions (cf. the Memphis Stela of Amenhotep II, *ANET*, p. 247).

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[17] The chronological placement of the Kargamiš letter to the reign of Ammištamru I rather than to that of Ammištamru II is admittedly open to question. It may be noted, however, that by the time of Ammištamru II both Kargamiš and Ugarit had lost their independence and were vassals under Hittite suzerainty. It would seem highly unlikely that Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti, or any of his Syrian vassals, would deem it necessary to fight against Ammištamru II. Certainly, there is no evidence that Ammištamru II ever fought against the Hittites or against his neighbors. For this reason the implications of RS 8.333 seem better placed in the reign of the first ruler of Ugarit to bear the name Ammištamru. Cf. *PRU* IV, pp. 113-184.

[18] Abdi-Aširta presumably did not live to see the "great Syrian" campaign; his contact with the Hittites therefore must be placed with the "first Syrian foray" (cf. the discussion in Chapter V). For different and involved reasons all commentators so affirm; cf. Kitchen, *op. cit*., pp. 20-21; Campbell, *op. cit*., p. 122.

[19] Abdi-Aširta's relationship to Ḫatti may very well be comparable to that which Jehu of Israel had to Assyria. Although Shalmaneser III of Assyria received tribute from Jehu (*ANET*, p. 281) in the latter monarch's first year (according to Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* [Chicago, 1951], p. 53), neither the internal nor foreign policy of Jehu were overtly manipulated by Assyria. Both Abdi-Aširta and Jehu undoubtedly were concerned with a nominal compliance as a kind of insurance to placate the designing moves of a potential enemy. See both *PD*, No. 5 and the Hittite version of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Aziru (as reproduced in translation by Helmut Freydank, *MIO*, 7 [1960], pp. 356-381) which fail to make any reference to Abdi-Aširta. If Abdi-Aširta had become a Hittite vassal, his name would not have been by-passed by these treaties.

[20] ". . . they (the Amorites) have killed Abdi-Aširta whom the king had placed over them, not they themselves!" Professor George E. Mendenhall drew the writer's attention to the statement's implications.

[21] Whereas Abdi-Aširta's letters to Egypt (EA 60-64) exude goodwill, his actual policy was aimed at throwing off the Egyptian yoke, cf. Moshe Greenberg, *The Ḫab/piru* (New Haven, 1955), pp. 70-71; Mendenhall, *JNES*, 6 (1947), pp. 123-124.

[22] *Supra*, n. 22; the "historical prologue" of *PD*, Nos. 3 and 5. With this evidence of silence from the Syrian suzerainty treaties, the Amarna letters concur.

[23] For the Zakir Stela, see *ANET*, p. 501. For a discussion of Nuḫašše's boundaries see Appendix VIII; cf. Julius Lewy, "Studies in the Historic Geography of the Ancient Near East," *Orientalia*, 21 (1952), pp. 408-410, 414-415. Nuḫašše is known from Egyptian inscriptions as *Nugasa*, Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 46, C, 3.

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[24] Lewy, *op. cit*., pp. 413-415. Cf. Kitchen's disagreement with Lewy, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, p. 26, n. 1

[25] Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 29.

[26] Kitchen, *op. cit*., p. 24, n. 2.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] *Ibid*., with which cf. p. 7, n. 1. For the reading of "year 36" on the Egyptian docket for EA 23, see Jaroslav Černý, "Three Regnal Dates of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *JEA*, 50 (1964), pp. 37-38.

[29] See the discussion of the length of the Tušratta correspondence given by Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, p. 38.

[30] For the implications that such a chronological stance would have in relation to whether or not there was a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, see Appendix VII.

[31] Cf. *infra*, Chap. III sub "The death of Tušratta."

[32] Following Goetze's translation given in *JCS*, 11 (1957), p. 68, n. 152.

[33] H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as Told by His Son Muršili II," *JCS*, 10 (1956), p. 97 and note "m".

[34] All scholars agree that it is not precisely clear just what is meant by the expression "king of Ḫurri." The earliest interpretation is that of H. Winckler in 1907, followed by E. F. Weidner and others (Weidner, Boghazköi-Studien, VIII [1923], pp. 2, n. 1 and 16, n. 1). They reasoned that because Tušratta ascended the Mitannian throne in irregular circumstances (EA 17:11-20), an originally larger Ḫurri state became split in two. It was construed that Tušratta, a usurper, snatched Mitanni away from its rightful rulers, restricting Ḫurri to a small area in Armenia. There Tušratta's alleged brother, Artatama II, continued as king of Ḫurri. The discovery that the titles "king of Mitanni land" and "king of the Ḫurrians (Ḫurrian land)" existed side by side long before Tušratta's time has caused the abandonment of the Winckler-Weidner interpretation (see Goetze, *op. cit*., p. 67). In 1944 I. J. Gelb assumed that because the terms Mitanni and Ḫurri are apparently synonymous, the difference between them, as indicated in Šuppiluliuma's contract with Mattiwaza, should be explained from the Hittite and not the Mitannian point of view. According to Professor Gelb, the Hittites probably considered Tušratta as a king who had usurped for himself the kingdom of Mitanni, while regarding Artatama II, on the other hand, as the legitimate ruler over all the Ḫurri lands (*Hurrians and Subarians* [Chicago, 1944], pp. 73-79 and n. 241). R. T. O'Callaghan, S.J., pointed out in 1948 reason for disagreement with Gelb's interpretation. Since Tušratta's titles include not only that of "lord of the Mitanni land,"

but also "lord of the Ḫurrian land," any explanation for the opening lines of *PD*, No. 1 envisioning a so-called Hittite view is out of the question (*Aram Naharaim* [Rome, 1948], p. 80 and n.3). O'Callaghan, following in the steps of Eduard Meyer, would therefore interpret the phrase "king of Ḫurri" as "a synonym for Mitanni occurring . . . especially when the Mitannians wanted to distinguish themselves from foreigners." (*Ibid.*, p. 80; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 1, p. 372.) In the viewpoint of A. Goetze ". . . the term Ḫurri land is partially synonymous with Mitanni land, certainly located in Upper Mesopotamia. Furthermore, it has been recognized that there existed a Ḫurri land in a narrower sense which must border on the Mitanni land and must have been inhabited by people of the same racial stock" (Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*..., pp. 39-40).

[35] "The Amarna tablets prove that the ruling dynasties of many Syro-Palestinian cities were of Indo-Aryan origin, as established by their personal names; the Taanach tablets show that this situation was already the same during the middle decades of the 15th century. Since the Mari documents and the Egyptian lists of the 19th-18th centuries contain no Indo-Aryan names, we are forced to the conclusion that there was some kind of Indo-Aryan irruption during the 17th or early 16th century B.C.," W. F. Albright, "Further Observations on the Chronology of Alalakh," *BASOR*, 146 (1957), p. 32, n. 19. On the aristocracy of North Syria, cf. O'Callaghan, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[36] Such a conclusion is borne out by the fact that the Ḫurrian confederacy was known under several names. On one occasion Abdi-Aširta called the area of Ḫurri land "Nah<ri>ma, the land of the great kings" (EA 75:36-40). That the Egyptians identified *Nahrina* with Mitanni (in the political and not merely geographical sense) is demonstrated from Egyptian literary materials (cf. J. J. Finkelstein, "Mesopotamia," *JNES*, 21 [1963], pp. 84-86; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* [Chicago, 1906], II, article 867; A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* [Oxford, 1947], I, pp. 173*-174*). The Assyrians always called the region of Mitanni "Ḫanigalbat". The preamble to the treaty of Rim-Šar of Ḫalba precludes the interpretation that the two countries are identical in view of the clear distinction there is said to be made between the king of Ḫanigalbat and the king of Mitanni. It thus is very probable that the lands of the Ḫurrian league came to bear the name of the dominant country whose king was suzerain of the league. (Cf. the discussion of Ḫanigalbat by Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*..., p. 76, n. 310; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 79.) For an analogous league in Syria compare the political situation in Nuḫašše (see O. Weber, *apud* Knudtzon, *EA*, pp. 1103ff).

[37] The possibility exists that Artatama was actually a king of a Ḫurri land bordering Mitanni (cf. Goetze, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40). However, when Šuppiluliuma became master of Syria, he reduced Mitanni to the status of being a vassal of Artatama II (*PD*, Nos. 1 and 2). It thus would seem

that the Hittite conqueror all along recognized Artatama II as the legitimate suzerain of Ḫurri land.

[38] The English translation is supplied by J. Lewy, Orientalia, 21 (1952), p. 414.

[39] Ibid., p. 413.

[40] Goetze's translation, ANET, p. 318.

[41] Cf. infra, n. 45.

[42] Irqata is mentioned in the Egyptian execration texts as ^{c}3ḳtm, in the annals of Thutmose III as ^{c}rḳt, and in Assyrian texts as Arqa. The city was the home of the Biblical Arkites. Ṣumur (home of the Biblical Zemarites) was at one point an Egyptian garrison town (EA 112: 50-56), situated near the mouth of the Eleutherus River (Albright, JNES, 5 [1946], p. 9). Ullaza, mentioned in the conquests of Naram-Sin as Ullišum (C. J. Gadd, CAH, I, Chap. XIX, Rev. ed., Fascicle 17 [1963], p. 28) was on the seacoast (EA, p. 1141) and is not to be confused with Ukulzat, the capital of Takib-šarri of Nuḫašše (PD, No. 1, obv. 38-40), as is done by Sidney Smith, The Statue of Idrimi (London, 1949), p. 78.

[43] Cf. CAD, Ḫ, p. 3; Ṣ, p. 50; A, I, p. 331. The ṣābē tillatu of EA 60:12 are obviously Egyptian "auxiliary troops" (CAD, sub alālu). The rabiṣ ("overseer," "commissioner" or "caretaker") was an official in charge over an Egyptian vassal or vassal holdings. The rabiṣ of Ṣumur was undoubtedly the Egyptian overseer for Amurru. The local princes, known as ḫazānnu (who are often referred to as awilu, "man with legal status") and who speak to one another as "king" (malik), were under the control of the rabiṣ of their particular area. For a discussion of Egyptian administration, see M. Abdul-Ḳader Moḥammad, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine During the New Kingdom," ASAE, 56 (1959), pp. 105-137; and W. Helck, "Die ägyptische Verwaltung in den syrischen Besitzungen," MDOG, 92 (1960), pp. 1-13. The meaning of rabiṣ is discussed by Chaim Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," Scripta Hierosolymitana, 8 (1961), p. 395.

[44] AT 2:74; the Idrimi inscription, lines 44-49 (cf. Sidney Smith, op. cit.; and the corrections made by Albright, BASOR, 118 [1950], pp. 11-20).

[45] Students of this period have frequently stumbled over the seeming anomaly of positing a Mitannian military venture into Syria while Tušratta was an ally of Egypt. Cf. the discussion by Campbell, op. cit., pp. 93-96; and Kitchen, op. cit., p. 13.

[46] In agreement with Kitchen, ibid., p. 32.

Footnotes to Chapter II (8)

[47] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 95. Yanḫamu is also named in EA 83-86, but the mention of his name gives no hint as to the lateness of Abdi-Aširta's career. For other items bearing on the fact that Abdi-Aširta died soon after the Mitannian war, see Appendix V.

CHAPTER III

ŠUPPILULIUMA'S THREE VIOLATIONS OF EGYPT'S BORDER

The First ^{c}Amqi Attack of Šuppiluliuma

The account of the campaign. The first ^{c}Amqi attack, otherwise known as the "great Syrian" campaign, is comprehensively described in the preamble to Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Mattiwaza (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 17-47 and its duplicates *PD*, No. 2 and *KUB*, III, I). Allied to Arṯatama II, Šuppiluliuma warred against Tušratta, his military actions being primarily directed toward breaking the power and far-flung hegemony of Mitanni.

Since the conqueror's first raid through the Taurus passes into Syria was repulsed with heavy losses, the "great Syrian" campaign was more carefully prepared. The main defenses of Mitanni were, as previously seen, in northwestern Syria. The new plan of strategy, therefore, called for the troops of Ḫatti to daringly cross the northeastern mountains of Anatolia, to move through that dangerous region of wild tribes so that Mitanni unexpectedly might be struck from the hinterland of the north. To accomplish such an undertaking, a preliminary campaign was launched and the area north of the upper reaches of the Euphrates was pacified; a treaty was concluded with a tribal kingdom called alternately Azzi and Ḫayaša.[1] At this point the historical preamble to the Mattiwaza treaty takes up the Hittite's southward advance. Crossing the Euphrates at the region of present-day Malatya, Šuppiluliuma descended southward without difficulty, reconquering for a "second time" the country of Išuwa.[2] Such Anatolian fugitives from former Hittite aggression, which the famed conqueror found in Išuwa, he deported back to their original homelands.

Mitanni was taken completely by surprise; there appears to have been no battle of any consequence. Tušratta's capital, Waššukanni,[3] was suddenly fallen upon and sacked. The fragmented annals of Šuppiluliuma serve as a valuable auxiliary to the account of the campaign as given in the preamble to Mattiwaza's treaty.[4] Fragment 25, containing just a few extant lines, refers to the time of Išuwa's second fall.[5] Fragment 26 highlights Šuppiluliuma's first move into Syria. The Hittite's terse statement in the preamble: "Tušratta, the king, had departed, he did not come to meet me in battle" (PD, No. 1, obv. 29),[6] is placed in its proper Sitz im Leben in the annals which indicate that the words are more than idle boastfulness. As fragment 26 shows, Šuppiluliuma first moved westward from the ruins of Waššukanni to attack the town of Kargamiš on the Euphrates. It was while his forces were assaulting that citadel that the Hittite monarch sent a poignant message to Tušratta: "Come! Let us fight!" The sorely pressed Mitannian, however, would not accept the challenge. It was the beginning of the end for Tušratta, who retired (eastward?).

The information provided by the documents from Boghazkoy, Ugarit, and Alalaḫ makes it possible to follow Šuppiluliuma's campaigns, and generally the events of his time on the map. Thus it becomes obvious that, at that time, the states of Ḫalba (modern Aleppo) and Kargamiš together occupy the eastern half of northern Syria, and that Mukiš (with its capital city Alalaḫ) and Ugarit fill the western half. Šuppiluliuma is seen skirting Kargamiš (the city was not to surrender during the first ᶜAmqi attack)[7] in a western push toward Ḫalba. It is the start of a year-long campaign, west and south of the great bend in the River Euphrates. With the subjugation of the kingdoms of Ḫalba and Mukiš, the Hittite conqueror pushed forward, defeating a coalition of *maryannu* leaders, and bringing disaster upon the petty kingdoms faithful to Mitanni. That Šuppiluliuma should have vigorously marched toward the west while the Ḫabur region of east Mitanni was neglected is historically revealing. Not only was the Hittite covetous of carving an empire in the strategic region of the Amuq plain where there was an enviable confluence of rich cosmopolitan cultures, but he was also desirous of breaking the power of Tušratta, who must therefore control a vast territory west of the Euphrates. Here were to be found the so-called "kings of Mitanni" of the Amarna letters, the western vassal states of "the Ḫurri lands" (*KUB*, XIX, 9).[8]

Of the four great vassal kingdoms facing Šuppiluliuma's immediate interest, Kargamiš, Ḫalba, and Mukiš were demonstrably under Mitannian suzerainty. Ugarit, however, was closely bound to Egypt by treaty (as will be documented in due course).

A perusal of the much later Ḫalba treaty (*KBo*, I, 6), concluded between Muršili II of Ḫatti and Talmi-Šarruma of Ḫalba, leaves no doubts as to Ḫalba's status during the Amarna Age. In a characteristic fashion, so typical of suzerainty treaties, this Ḫatti-Ḫalba contract summarizes the previous relations of the two countries, skipping those periods in which relations were suspended or nonexistent. It may thus be observed that between the reigns of Tudḫaliya II who held Ḫalba, and

Šuppiluliuma who regained it, mention is made only of Ḫattušili II, the grandfather of the famed conqueror, who lost Ḫalba to Mitanni.[9] The silence of Egyptian records, usually so unequivocal in boastfully listing dependent vassal states, serves as a useful corollary to the Ḫalba treaty. Instructive testimony thereby is rendered, testifying that Ḫalba had long been under Mitannian control when Tušratta inherited his father's throne.

The historical background for the Amarna Age kingdom of Mukiš is almost as firm. True, Alalaḫ, the capital of Mukiš, had previously been plundered and subjected to prolonged Egyptian occupation in the days of Thutmose III; Alalaḫ even paid tribute to that well-known Pharaoh.[10] Nevertheless, the inscribed statue of Idrimi of Alalaḫ, dating to the generation of Thutmose III,[11] indicates the continued dependence of Mukiš on the Ḫurri confederacy during the years preceding the Amarna Age. Surely Mukiš is to be included among those feudal dependencies found in Tušratta's patrimony.[12]

The geographical position of Kargamiš, contiguous as it was to the Mitannian vassal states of Mitanni, Ḫalba, and Mukiš, supports what already has been adduced from observing Šuppiluliuma's military movements; namely, that it, too, was a vassal of Mitanni. Of the other lesser states found in northwestern Syria, such as Nuḫašše, and Niʾi,[13] the evidence concerning their affiliation to the great powers is best left open until their history can be appraised in light of the "great Syrian" campaign. Suffice to say now, the conqueror's reference to a "revolt" in Niʾi, at this point (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 30-34), does not infer that that country had been a previous vassal of the Hittite. Rather, Takuya, Niʾi's king, who submissively followed Šuppiluliuma to Mukiš, there to sue for peace, was not supported by his countrymen. In "revolt" against their king's surrender of their homeland to the Hittite, they followed the lead of Takuya's nationalistic brother Akit-Tešub, who became prominently active in the military action against the Hittite invasion.

With the capitulation of Ḫalba and Mukiš, followed by the costly suppression of Akit-Tešub's "revolt" which entailed fighting a determined coalition of Syrian city-states, Šuppiluliuma was free to answer the call of Šarrupši. The appeal of this leading prince of Nuḫašše land was, in fact, a convenient legal excuse to move southward.

A near neighbor of Niʾi, Nuḫašše consisted of a series of small states under kings, some of whom ruled towns in the Orontes Valley. For this confederation to be turned over as a gift to the Hittite king was a *coup* worth exploiting. But such an easy victory was not to be. Šuppiluliuma's words tell the story: "When I proceeded to the Nuḫašši land, I conquered all its countries. Šarrupši had met a violent death" (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 38). Šuppiluliuma seems to have been particularly angered by those pro-Mitannian elements who wrought the downfall of Šarrupši. In the later treaty with Tette of Nuḫašše (*PD*, No. 3), the Hittite not only claimed that the whole purpose of his campaign was to protect Nuḫašše, but further asserted that Tušratta's attitude was so provocative as to compel a Hittite invasion into the lands on the western bank of the Euphrates (*ša eberti annīti*). The violent murder of Šarrupši certainly is to be seen as the major incident of provocation which called forth this outburst from the great conqueror.[14]

Nuḫašše was forcibly reduced; Šarrupši's family was captured and deported. At Ukulzat, in northwest Syria, Takib-šarri, an under-official of the lamented Šarrupši, was appointed by Šuppiluliuma as king of the new vassal state Nuḫašše (PD, No. 1, obv. 39-40).[15]

The collapse of the powers blocking the way to the Orontes Valley opened up Coele (or Hollow) Syria to the Hittite army. Qaṭna (modern el-Mishrifeh) was plundered, its possessions sent back to Ḫatti (PD, No. 1, obv. 37). Šuppiluliuma's razing of Qaṭna's great temple Nin-Egal has been revealed by several seasons of excavation at the ancient site of the city's ruins (between the years 1925 and 1929). Leaving no doubt that the extant ruins of Qaṭna's destruction were caused by the famed Hittite conqueror are the telltale, characteristic Late Bronze IIA pottery which were uncovered, dating the destruction level to the first quarter of the fourteenth century B.C. (Amarna Age).[16]

While the excavator cautions that the final destruction of Qaṭna can be attributed to either Šuppiluliuma's second or third campaign,[17] it may be safe to surmise that the "great Syrian" venture did end the career of the king in charge of that city. The question of whether or not that king would be Akizzi, known from the Amarna letters (EA 52-57), is more than academic. With the unearthing of the names of the rulers of this middle Syrian city, the possibility of identifying Šuppiluliuma's foe at Qaṭna is considerably heightened. It was Šuppiluliuma who, by burning the temple of the Akkadian goddess Bēlet-ekalli (Sumerian Nin-Egal), preserved for posterity the tablets containing the inventories of its treasure. In a retrospective list of accretions to the temple treasury are found entries recording contributions by various ranking personages. Thus five succeeding generations of Qaṭna's rulers (from the sixteenth century B.C. to the city's Amarna Age destruction) have become known.[18]

One of the city's last rulers, as attested by the inventory list, was Addu-nirari, who is known to have reigned for at least forty-five years (Inventory I, C, 363a).[19] He was followed by a certain Idadda, in the first year of whose reign was written the great inventory of nearly four hundred lines. Within this inventory, Ammut-pi-el, the son of Idadda, also appears (Inventory II, 39). Whether Ammut-pi-el actually attained the throne is not known.

The striking absence of Akizzi's name may mean that he became "king of Qaṭna" (EA 57, obv. 2) following the demise (or capture?) of the heir-presumptive, Ammut-pi-el. Whether Akizzi's reign took place prior to the "great Syrian" campaign or, as it appears more likely, after that throne-shattering event, only can be determined by the internal criteria of his Amarna correspondence (which will be studied in more detail below).

On their way to ~~by~~-pass Qadeš (Ḫurrian Kinza), some thirty-five miles southwest of Qaṭna, the Hittites were surprised to encounter resistance (PD, No. 1, obv. 40). Šutatarra, the king of Qadeš, together with his son Aitagama,[20] went forth with their chariotry to meet the Hittite. Decisively defeated, both father and son were taken prisoners and deported to Ḫatti. Fragment 27 in the annals gives the added information that Qadeš was sacked.[21]

Moving southward into the Biqā^{c}, a valley visibly buttressed on both sides by the impressive Lebanon and Antilebanon mountains, Šuppiluliuma proceeded toward the Egyptian-held district of Upe (Ḫurrian Api-na). But now he had pierced through the "borderland of Egypt, the land of Amka" mentioned in the "Plague Prayers of Muršili."

Previous geographical studies have made it possible to define precisely Šuppiluliuma's movements hereafter.[22] The large, ill-defined boundaries of Upe were evidently not limited to the region embracing its chief city Damascus, but extended all the way north to Qaṭna. Lapana (Biblical Lebō^c-Hamath, modern Lebwe) and Ruḫizzi, cities at the very headwaters of the Orontes, were found within its confines (EA 53: 56-62).[23] Thus Upe was a wide geographical region, covering more than one political entity. The land of ^{c}Amqi, in contrast to Upe, was a small geographical and political unit confined to the upper reaches of the Litani River. ^{c}Amqi and Taḫši appear in various passages in closest connection with the land of Upe, and it is probable (though not certain) that they both formed an actual part of its territory.

In the land of ^{c}Amqi, within the borders of Canaan, Šuppiluliuma met in battle the king of Upe and "his great" (PD, No. 1, obv. 44). As the core of Upe lay in the Damascene, the Hittites must have penetrated far enough south to have been considered a threat to that region. With the defeat of the forces of Upe, Šuppiluliuma established the Hittite boundary at the "Lebanon mountain(s)." It is a boundary line that is made clear to posterity not only by this geographical reference (PD, No. 1, obv. 47), but by a number of sources, chief of which are the "Plague Prayers of Muršili."

The pertinent geographical observation that the Lebanon and Antilebanon mountains nearly converge to form a seeming barrier just south of Qadeš lends weight to the geographical studies which place ^{c}Amqi's position as the boundary between Egypt and Ḫatti at this very locality. Here, at the point where the valley first tends to narrow as one travels from north to south, at the foot of the Antilebanon, lay the Biblical boundary town of Lebōʾ-Hamath which demarcated the northern limits of Canaan's border (Num. 34:8). If this were not enough to conclude that a major boundary line was to be found at this spot, Hittite documents, notably the text of Ḫattušili III (*KUB*, XIX, 9) and the remarks of Šuppiluliuma to an Egyptian delegation (the annals, Colophon of A, 7th Tablet, E, IV), speak of the "Ḫurri lands" ending south of Qadeš, at the boundary of Amurru (a land which the Duppi-Tešub treaty, *PD*, No. 5, also states to be contiguous to Qadeš).[24] There thus may be no doubt that as far as central Syria was concerned, the boundary line *par excellence* between Egyptian-controlled Canaan (and Amurru) and that of the Mitannian-controlled Ḫurrian confederacy closely followed the traditional border line for the northern bounds of Canaan (conveniently handed down to posterity in Num. 34:7-9). Šuppiluliuma stopped his invasion at the very borders of Canaan (after a violation of that border by crossing into the ᶜAmqi Valley) seemingly for the sake of political expediency. The Hittite war objective only aimed at subjugating the Ḫurrian confederacy and other potential allies of Tušratta. The Hittite monarch had no quarrel with Egypt; he considered himself innocent of any aggression against Egypt (the annals, Colophon of A, 7th Tablet, E, IV and the "Plague Prayers"). It can only be concluded that Šuppiluliuma did not recognize Egyptian claims north of the traditional bounds of Amurru-Canaan. (Cf. also the observations in Appendix II.)

It needs to be emphasized at this crucial point in the discussion that Šuppiluliuma for the first time is seen, during the "great Syrian" campaign, as having violated the border region of ᶜAmqi. It was the first ᶜAmqi attack, over which the conqueror's son, Muršili II, many years later was bitterly to regret (cf. the "Plague Prayers"). This identity of the "great Syrian" invasion with the first ^{c}Amqi attack will be of utmost chronological value in the historical reconstruction which will follow.

Ugaritic sources and the "great Syrian" campaign. The evidence presented by the Šuppiluliuma dossier found at Ugarit containing the Hittite conqueror's overtures to Niqmaddu II of Ugarit are extremely important for a correct understanding of the "great Syrian" campaign. The dossier contains three parts: the introductory letter (RS 17.132), the treaty terms (RS 17.227 and duplicates, together with the parallel texts in Ugaritic 11.772, 780, 782, and 802), and a letter confirming the activation of the treaty (RS 17.340 and RS 17.369).

In the introductory letter to Niqmaddu, Šuppiluliuma states that the kings of Nuḫašše and the king of Mukiš are at war with the Hittites. If Niqmaddu would become an ally, he would, among other things, enjoy the favor of "the Sun, the Great King" Šuppiluliuma. The Hittite adds that if Ugarit will remain loyal during the ensuing hostilities, the conqueror would bestow upon Niqmaddu a formal treaty of accord (Dossier II, A, 1).[25]

The letter shows that Šuppiluliuma is threatening Ugarit at the commencement of a Syrian war. The later letter containing the treaty terms (Dossier II, A, 2) again mentions the war which by this time had been concluded against "all the kings of Nuḫašše" and "the king of the country of Mukiš." Because Niqmaddu had not joined with these hostile forces, he is "rewarded" by officially coming under the suzerainty of Šuppiluliuma. Included is a long list of types of tribute which the

Hittite expected to receive yearly from Niqmaddu.

For the modern historian the most important letter is Šuppiluliuma's message to Niqmaddu confirming the activation of the treaty (Dossier II, A, 3). Here the Hittite's enemies are named: "Now Itur-Addu king of the country of Mukiš, Addu-nirari, king of the country of Nuḫašše and Akit-Tešub, king of the land of Niʾi, are hostile against the Triumph of the Sun, the Great King, their lord" (RS 17.340, 2-4). Besides learning about these three countries and their rebel leaders, there are other items of historical worth. Mention is made of the fact that Niqmaddu paid homage to the son of the conqueror, after which he came personally to Šuppiluliuma's headquarters at Alalaḫ. There, the king of Ugarit received from the conqueror's hand forty-five towns and localities of the vanquished Mukiš (compare RS tablets 17.227, 17.340 13.62, 17.369A, and 17.366).

Clearly, the various elements of the dossier refer to the same series of historical events as are found in the preamble of the Mattiwaza treaty (PD, No. 1, obv. 17-47).[26] Like the "great Syrian" campaign, Šuppiluliuma victoriously encounters in battle the same great Mitanni vassal states of northwestern Syria. In both cases Akit-Tešub is the prince of Niʾi, and again in both cases the vassals come to Alalaḫ (in Mukiš) to pay their homage to the Hittite king.

One scholar who has taken note of the illumination which these Ugaritic materials cast upon the events surrounding the "great Syrian" campaign, has gone so far as to suppose that the invitation for Niqmaddu II to become the Hittite's ally was written at the point in time when Šuppiluliuma had conquered Ḫalba and before his invasion of Mukiš.[27] Whenever the invitation was sent, it should be observed that

Šuppiluliuma was not dealing with a revolt, but, as his invitation shows, city-states who had never been under the conqueror's overlordship.

Of great assistance in dating the "great Syrian" campaign is the seal which the Hittite king used to stamp his correspondence with Niqmaddu. Along with the name Šuppiluliuma, is engraved the name of the great king's third and last wife, "Tawananna". While the title "Tawananna" was always borne by the Hittite great queens, who inherited their position only on the death of their respective predecessor, Šuppiluliuma's last "Tawananna" is repeatedly identified with the words "daughter of the king of Babylon."[28] Indeed, the probable name of this queen, Malnigal, had already been known from the seals of Šuppiluliuma recovered at Boghazkoy.[29] As the alliance between the renowned Hittite and Niqmaddu II almost certainly took place during the "great Syrian" campaign, it happily becomes possible to date the invasion in question to the latter part of Šuppiluliuma's reign. The very fact that Tawananna (= Malnigal) lived on as a dowager-queen to become a continual source of trouble for Muršili can be seen as a confirmation of the conclusion giving her an appearance late in Šuppiluliuma's life.[30]

It will be recalled that the conqueror's second wife, Ḫenti, is mentioned in a document (KUB, XIX, 25) recording the installation of Šuppiluliuma's son Telipenu as priest in Kizzuwatna. It thereby became certain that the fall of Kizzuwatna and the first Syrian foray were to be dated to the time of Ḫenti's prominence as "the king's wife." The fact that Telipenu was old enough (possibly an adult in his twenties) to assume that important office suggests that Ḫenti was queen during the middle years of Šuppiluliuma's reign. Given this intelligence, coupled with the already obtained conclusion that the "great Syrian" venture took place after some twenty years of rule by the famed Hittite (see Chapter Two), it emerges as an absolute certainty that documents bearing the name of the third queen, Tawananna, belong to the latter half of Šuppiluliuma's reign.[31]

Not least in importance among the materials uncovered from Ugarit are those inscriptions dealing with Ugarit's relations with Egypt. Fragments of an alabaster vase have been found upon which Niqmaddu II is pictured with a woman adorned in the headdress of an Egyptian court favorite. According to the details of the scene, she performs the function of a wife pouring water on her husband's hands upon his return home in the evening. Written in Egyptian hieroglyphics above the couple are the words: *wr n ḥ3st ỉḳ3ryty nykmᶜdy*, "the ruler of the foreign land, Ugarit, Niqmaddu."[32] This "*vase de mariage*" constitutes good evidence for the marriage of Niqmaddu II to an Egyptian woman of high rank; a marriage which explicitly shows Ugarit's close link with Egypt prior to the year-long invasion of Šuppiluliuma.

EA 45 which showed that Niqmaddu's father, Ammištamru I, acknowledged Egyptian suzerainty, already has indicated Ugarit's political dependence upon Egypt. Contemporary documents from Ugarit's ancient past now are seen to confirm this relationship. Alabaster vessels from the royal palace at Ugarit yield the name of Amenhotep III, and a fragmentary letter in Ugarit's alphabetic script contains a reference to *nmry mlk ᶜlm*, "Nimmuriya [as Amenhotep III was known in the tablets from Syria], king in perpetuity."[33]

The historical synthesis presented, which sees Niqmaddu II arriving upon Ugarit's throne as an Egyptian vassal, emerges as a defensible position. The fact that Šuppiluliuma in his introductory letter reminded Niqmaddu that his ancestors (*abbū*) had enjoyed friendly relations with Ḫatti may be discounted as having had any reference to the status of Niqmaddu II's immediate ancestor, Ammištamru I *vis-à-vis* Ḫatti. The conqueror neither speaks of Niqmaddu as previously having had formal ties with Ḫatti nor are these ancestors identified by name (RS 17.132:1-9).[34] Furthermore, it seems highly unlikely that Niqmaddu II would have risked an official alliance with Egypt if he had come to the throne as a vassal of the Hittite king.

Archaeological material from Ugarit also provides a rare synchronism with Egypt. On alabaster vases uncovered at that site were found the names Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and their god Aten (early form).[35] Since the heretical Pharaoh's name "Akhenaten" was only in use from his year five onward and the early form of the didactic name of Aten is dated to his years six to nine,[36] these vases become chronologically important. This is especially true when it is realized that such royal alabasters were specifically used as part of diplomatic exchanges and presents. Obviously Niqmaddu II is to be posited as a vassal of Egypt until at least years six to nine of Pharaoh Akhenaten; it is within these years, or at some following year, that he must be regarded as having submitted to the Hittite yoke during the course of the "great Syrian" campaign. It should be kept in mind in this connection that Niqmaddu II was Egypt's last vassal-king of Ugarit during the Amarna years. The vases in question could thus not be assigned to any later Ugaritic ruler.[37]

It has already been ascertained that Tušratta's Syrian incursion probably took place about a year prior to the first ^{c}Amqi attack (cf. Chapter Two). An appraisal of EA 85, which refers to Tušratta's war, implies that that epistle was addressed to Akhenaten (cf. Appendix III). In concurrence with these conclusions are the letters from Tušratta to the Egyptian court which present the Mitannian king as yet untouched by the catastrophic results of the "great Syrian" campaign until sometime after the death of Amenhotep III (EA 26-29). All the data therefore agree that Šuppiluliuma's famed invasion occurred during the sixteen years when Akhetaten was the capital of Egypt and at a point in time after the death of Amenhotep III. It therefore is suggested here that the first ᶜAmqi attack took place well into the reigns of both Akhenaten and Šuppiluliuma. It is a conclusion which will be further tested in the light of subsequent events.

The heretofore discussed evidence from the Hittite suzerainty treaties which led to a confident assertion that Ugarit was a vassal of Egypt until the fall of Mukiš to the Hittite suggests the reason why Šuppiluliuma was so surprised to find his southward advance opposed by the king of Qadeš. Since a document from Ugarit asserts that at one time that ancient port city exercised a hegemony as far south as Qadeš (RS 20.16),[38] the supposition arises that Šuppiluliuma expected Qadeš to follow the lead of its immediate sovereign in capitulation to Ḫatti. Whatever may be said for such speculation, the sources uncovered at Ugarit have turned out to be extremely valuable for this study. It is time to turn to the Amarna letters from North Syria which are equally enlightening.

Amarna sources and the "great Syrian" campaign. Especially tied to the Niqmaddu-Šuppiluliuma dossier is a short series of partially extant letters from Ugarit (EA 45-49). A perusal of their contents strengthens the conviction already expressed that Ammištamru I (EA 45) and his son Niqmaddu II were by tradition Egyptian vassals. Letter 49 is particularly apropos as it is from Niqmaddu to Pharaoh requesting two Nubians (*KUR Ka-ši*) and an Egyptian physician.[39]

> Letter 47 states that the ancestors of the present king of Ugarit had been faithful subjects of the forefathers of Pharaoh. No. 47 also complains that the letters from Ugarit did not receive the same prompt attention paid to the letters from "the (other) kings." No. 48 is written by an Ugaritic queen with a Ḫurrian name ending in *Ḫepa* to the Egyptian queen, to whom she sends a pot of balm (healing resin).[40]

These letters reflect those years when Ugarit basked in semi-independence as a remote vassal of Egypt. They are the years characterized by gifts of royal alabaster vases and a marriage alliance between the royal families of Egypt and Ugarit.[41] As just seen, it was a relationship which lasted well into the reign of Akhenaten and the beginning years of Niqmaddu II.

Of more immediate value than the letters from Ugarit is the important EA 51 which may be used in synchronizing the converging sources. Authored by Addu-nirari of Nuḫašše, the externally marred epistle is undoubtedly from the same Addu-nirari named by Šuppiluliuma as the anti-Hittite leader in Nuḫašše following the murder of Šarrupši (*Dossier* II, A, 3; RS 17.340:2-3). Addu-nirari's Amarna missive significantly stresses his deep trouble with the Hittites. Evidently, Nuḫašše had received a message from the "king of Ḫatti" which perhaps was somewhat identical to that of the aforementioned "introductory letter" found in the Niqmaddu *dossier* (RS 17.132). Whatever the message was, Addu-nirari was much alarmed. He wrote pleadingly for immediate Egyptian military assistance (EA 51, rev. 13-15).[42] Since Šuppiluliuma failed to list him as a contending enemy in the preamble to the Mattiwaza treaty

(PD, No. 1), Addu-nirari presumably fled at the approach of the conqueror's army, thus ending his ephemeral rule and paving the way for the appointment of his successor, Takib-šarri (PD, No. 1, obv. 39-40).

Letter 51 serves to cast Šarrupši's appeal to the Hittite in perspective. It may again be noted that traditionally Nuḫašše was orientated toward Egypt (EA 51:4-9), but as a typical petty kingdom of the Amarna Age, attempted to take advantage of the shifting balance of international power-play by the expedient policy of continually shifting the country's political stance.

Akizzi is another figure whose chronological placement in relation to the "great Syrian" campaign may be judged from his Amarna correspondence (EA 52-57). Letter 55 is the most revealing. In lines 42-43 and 56-57 reference is made to a Hittite conquest of Qaṭna. The rather pithy report is given that the king of Ḫatti has taken away Qaṭna's gods! It was a general custom of long-standing antiquity for the subjected vassal to submit its god(s) to the victor as a token of dependence.[43] By such a symbolic act the supremacy of the suzerain's god(s) was thereby recognized. Akizzi's statement of Ḫatti's capture and removal of Qaṭna's official deities leaves no room for doubt that he wrote to Pharaoh sometime after the downfall of his own city to the advancing armies of Šuppiluliuma.

This is not the only evidence for Akizzi's chronological placement. The vassals, in addressing Pharaoh, never mentioned his royal majesty by name and rarely referred to him as king of Egypt. Yet Akizzi in two instances (letters 53 and 55) addresses himself to Namḫuriya (Egyptian Nfr ḫprw-R^{c}, Akhenaten's prenomen)[44] and once to the "king of Egypt" (EA 52:1). The only satisfactory explanation for this seeming diplomatic departure is to assume that Akizzi must have been initiating the renewal of Qaṭna's traditional relationship to Egypt. That is probably why in his letters he emphatically stresses his personal loyalty to Pharaoh. The very fact that Akizzi addresses himself to Akhenaten (Namḫuriya) is indicative that he is to be dated late in the Amarna era when the heretical Pharaoh was already on the throne. In itself, the use of Akhenaten's prenomen supplies an independent confirmation that the destruction of Qaṭna took place in the reign of that Pharaoh.

Akizzi's mention of Aitagama both as a rising figure of prominence and as an ally of the Hittites (letter 54:24-25) is also chronologically significant. Fr. Thureau-Dangin long ago correctly recognized Aitagama's appearance here as the logical sequel to his earlier activities as reported during the first ᶜAmqi attack (PD, No. 1, obv. 41). There he appeared as a prince of Qadeš, possibly sharing the throne with his father Šutatarra. At that time both father and son were defeated and carried off as prisoners to Ḫatti. Now, however, at the time of the Akizzi letters nothing is heard of Šutatarra, while Aitagama is seen as the prominent, pro-Hittite king of Qadeš. Obviously Šuppiluliuma had reinstated Aitagama to his hereditary position, only this time as a Hittite vassal![45] It is an important chronological consideration, for Aitagama is repeatedly found in the North Syrian Amarna correspondence. In typical, politically opportunistic fashion, so characteristic of the Syrian vassal states of his age, Aitagama is even found writing to his traditional overlord Pharaoh (EA 189), while to all intents and purposes he was a vassal of Ḫatti.[46]

Another striking difference between the situation as found in the preamble to Mattiwaza's treaty and that appearing in the Qaṭna correspondence is the type of government in Upe. The Boghazkoy text names a king (Ariwanaḫi) of Upe (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 43-44). If there was a "king" of Upe, which seems unequivocal, he is not mentioned in the Amarna letters.[47] Instead, Akizzi refers to Biryawaza, the representative of the Egyptian administration in this section (EA 52:45; 53:34).[48] Earlier Syrian letters, such as those from Rib-Haddi, written while Abdi-Aširta was still a contending force in local politics, make no reference to Upe. In marked contrast, the neighboring contemporaries of Akizzi and Aitagama abound in references to the precarious Egyptian position in Upe where Syrian dynasts were incited to rebellion by their own ambitions and goaded on by Hittite intrigue.[49] In harmonizing the Boghazkoy and the Amarna sources, the only rational explanation is again to take the events of the "great Syrian" campaign as occurring prior to the time of Akizzi.

Both the Hittite and Egyptian records show that the land of Upe and its capital, Damascus, remained beyond Šuppiluliuma's southern boundary. But with the Hittite capture of Ariwanaḫi and his "great men" and the resultant demise of the native royal government in the Damascene, the only power of importance left in that region would be the official representative of the Egyptian government. This is exactly what is found in the correspondence of Akizzi and other Syrian vassal letters where Biryawaza, the acting Egyptian governor of Upe, is known not as "king" but as *rabiṣ*, "commissioner" or simply *amēl rab*, "chief man."[50]

The impact of the first ^{c}Amqi attack on Aziru also is evident in the Amarna letters. The contents of EA 171 reveal that Yanḫamu, the Egyptian governor in Yarimuta, who acts for Ṣumur, Byblos, and the land of Amurru (EA 106:21; 68:20-22), rejected Aziru's protestations of loyalty toward Egypt (lines 3-5; 12-13). Such action on the part of the Egyptian high commissioner in western Asia renders Aziru suspect of treachery. That Aziru was involved in treasonable conduct, as far as Egypt was concerned, and that such conduct was tied to events which followed in the wake of the "great Syrian" campaign is a subject in itself and will be discussed in Chapter Five. At this point it is enough to compare the suspicious reaction of Yanḫamu with the Duppi-Tešub treaty (*PD*, No. 5), where Aziru alternately is seen as first loyal, then rebellious, and finally submissive to Šuppiluliuma.[51] The initial period of loyalty to Ḫatti surely is to be posited prior to letter 171, when Šuppiluliuma was extending his influence over the North Syrian states. Only such a state of affairs provides reason for Yanḫamu's ire against the treasonous Amorite.

Bolstering this synthesis are the letters written while Biryawaza was prominent. In EA 151, Aitagama and Aziru are reported to be acting in concert against Egyptian interests (lines 59-63). The arrival of this news, plus that of Aitagama's cooperation with the Hittites (EA 53, 54, 174-176, 363) is then reflected in Pharaoh's accusations against Aziru in EA 162. In letter 171, Aziru's first letter to the Egyptian court,[52] there is a *volte-face* in the political stance of Aziru, and the king of Amurru is found promising Pharaoh: "I will not rebel (*paṭāru*) against the words [of my lord] and against the servant of the sungod, the king my lord" (lines 34-37).

North Syria was not the only region grossly affected by Šuppiluliuma's successful invasion. Since Mitanni was vastly reduced in both size and power, the vassal states it held to the east most certainly would have been affected by their suzerain's sudden and disastrous military reversals. The potentially powerful nation Assyria had been in thrall to Mitanni since the days of Šauššatar, the grandfather of Tušratta.[53] Tušratta had continued Mitanni's tight grip on Assyria. As late as the thirty-sixth year of Amenhotep III, he had spoken with assurance of commanding the services of the famed Assyrian deity of healing, Ištar of Nineveh (EA 23:13).[54] From another of Tušratta's letters it is learned that the Mitannian goddess Šauška had a temple in Nineveh (EA 24, III:98). Clearly, Assyria had up to the "great Syrian" campaign been firmly under Mitannian vassalage.

With the advent of Šuppiluliuma's armies into Syria, however, Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria was loosed from his oppressor's yoke. The Assyrian's first letter to Akhenaten, sent with a gift of greeting, reflects the pride of his *debut* into the world of international diplomacy. He goes out of his way to state that he is sending gifts which his fathers had not sent, and that his messengers were anxious to see Pharaoh and his land (EA 15:7-11). In his second letter, Aššur-uballiṭ proclaims his independence by calling Akhenaten (*Napḫuriya*) "brother" (EA 16:2). The assumption of equality could only be possible after the gains from Mitanni which are known to have fallen to the fledgling Assyrian kingdom following the reduction of Tušratta's power.[55]

The proposal espoused here, of placing Aššur-uballiṭ late in the Amarna Age is independently upheld by other factors, most prominent of which is his length in office as measured against the Kassite rulers of

Babylonia. Burnaburiaš II was still on the throne in Babylonia at the very end of Akhenaten's rule; he names such chronologically late Amarna figures as Biryawaza (EA 7:75) and Akhenaten's eldest daughter, Meritaten, who became a ranking figure of international importance only during Akhenaten's last three years (EA 10:41; 11, Reverse: 25-26).[56] Burnaburiaš' rule of at least twenty-five years[57] extended on into the reign of Akhenaten's successor, Tut^{c}ankhamūn, the addressee of the Babylonian monarch's EA 9.[58] Since it is known that Aššur-uballiṭ outlived Burnaburiaš, it follows that his years in office began late in the Amarna Age. Only then is it possible to parallel the thirty-six years assigned to his rule so as not only to overlap Burnaburiaš' reign but also three additional generations of Kassite kings who followed that monarch on the throne, known contemporaries of the Assyrian king.[59] Only by beginning his reign late in Akhenaten's career could Aššur-uballiṭ have possibly outlasted Burnaburiaš' long reign by such a considerable margin.

The loss of Assyria from Tušratta's grasp was evidently looked upon by the Kassites as Burnaburiaš' gain. In his letter to Tut^{c}ankhamūn the Babylonian king acidly complains: "Why did the Assyrians, my subjects, come to your country?"[60] The letter goes on to admonish Pharaoh that the Assyrians should not be allowed to receive gifts from the Egyptian court (EA 9:31-35). Such Babylonian claims of dominion over Assyria during the early reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn did not reflect the reality of Assyria's potential strength as an independent power. The commencement of Aššur-uballiṭ's conquests and his eventual parity treaty with Karahardaš, the son of Burnaburiaš, marked the beginning of the process by which Assyria ultimately rose to supremacy in the near East.[61]

The Ugaritic materials have furnished the probable *terminus ante quem* for the first ^{c}Amqi attack as not earlier than year six to nine of Akhenaten and as occurring relatively late in Šuppiluliuma's career. The Amarna materials, as studied so far, place the *terminus post quem* for this invasion as falling within the Amarna years, prior to the death of Akhenaten. The Akizzi correspondence, demonstrably addressed to Akhenaten sometime after the events of the "great Syrian" campaign, is of particular importance in arriving at this conclusion. The assumption that Assyrian independence occurred as a by-product of the defeat of Tušratta by Šuppiluliuma and is to be placed in time toward the latter years of Burnaburiaš' reign, suggests that the *terminus ante quem* for the first ^{c}Amqi attack should be further lowered to well after year nine of Akhenaten, preferably at least years twelve to thirteen of that Pharaoh's seventeen-year reign (*i.e.*, soon after the death of Amenhotep III if a twelve-year coregency is accepted).

The death of Tušratta. The crushing defeat which Šuppiluliuma visited upon Tušratta unquestionably led to the internal breakdown of Mitanni's political structure. To divorce Tušratta's subsequent murder from the calamitous setbacks that befell Mitanni, which overnight changed a feudalistic empire into an insignificant state, is to ignore historical reality.[62] Tušratta had been completely eliminated as a political factor in Syrian affairs; his prestige as leader of a Ḫurrian confederacy had collapsed. He must have found himself in an unenviable and vulnerable position. Future events bear out the assumption that divisive elements now came to the forefront. Among the princes and nobles who composed the remnant of his once-large realm, there were those who supported the Hittite-backed Artatama II, and those adherents of Tušratta's who upheld his traditional alliances which included Egypt as an ally. Because of the critical crisis the country found itself in, it takes little imagination to assume that factional differences were heated and sharp.

According to contemporaneous testimony, preserved for posterity in Šuppiluliuma's accord with Mattiwaza (*PD*, Nos. 1 and 2), Mitanni's high god, Tešub, presided over the country's fate. The Ḫurrian storm-deity had favored Tušratta in his "lawsuit" against Artatama. Tušratta's long-standing stability as king of an empire and his war of attrition against his foes were under the aegis of the gods. But Tešub's judgment temporarily reversed itself in favor of Artatama. The god's reaction now was directed against Tušratta, his household, and his nation. What caused the disfavor is not stated. There is, however, that heinous crime of patricide which figures in the account. Tušratta is stated to have been slain by his own son (*PD*, No. 1:48).[63] Whether this infamous deed was interpreted as the cause or as the result of Tešub's reversed judgment is a question which intentionally may have been passed over, as it is highly likely that the author of the crime was Mattiwaza himself.[64]

Be that as it may, the god's disfavor toward Mitanni came after the king's demise. Šuttarna III, Artatama's son, who at the time of the murder occupied a part of Tušratta's realm, emerged to take advantage of the suddenly leaderless state. Ruthlessly moving against the Ḫurrian nobles who had supported the Mitannian throne, he succeeded in placing them at his mercy. The country's power thus broken, the way was opened for Šuttarna's father, Artatama, to usurp the vacant throne.

The political course taken by father and son quickly became apparent. From the viewpoint of Šuppiluliuma and Mattiwaza it was a policy motivated entirely by revenge (*KBo*, I, 3, obv. 12-14). The captive grandees of the Mitannian hierarchy were turned over to their former eastern vassals--the Alšeans and the Assyrians--who thereupon cruelly impaled their erstwhile lords. With overt encouragement the two newly liberated countries went on to ravage and plunder the Mitannian countryside (the home of the impaled nobles' extensive landholdings). The blood bath to which Šuttarna subjected Tušratta's adherents served the purpose not only of political revenge, but also of currying the favor of the Assyrians; a fact made highly evident when both father and son conferred official recognition to Assyrian independence as a further sop to the tide of Assyrian nationalism under Aššur-uballiṭ (cf. *PD*, No. 2:1-14).[65] The favored treatment rendered to the Assyrians was not wasted. When at long last the usurpers found themselves facing the armed might of Šuppiluliuma, they discovered the Assyrians to be their firm allies (Šuppiluliuma's annals, fragment 35).

The bloodshed and vandalism against Tešub's country were not countenanced by the Ḫurrian storm-god. Once more Tešub decided to reverse judgment in the case of Artatama. The cause of the *volte-face* of the god away from Artatama is this time given: "his son brought the (legally) dead Artatama back to life; but the whole Mitanni country is ruined" (*PD*, No. 1:49-40). The duplicate text simply states that Artatama's son acted falsely against Mitanni (*PD*, No. 2:30).[66]

Meanwhile Mattiwaza had fled from his homeland, eventually presenting himself as a suppliant to Šuppiluliuma at the Halys

(Maraššantiya) River. The Hittite king found himself in the luxuriant and potentially embarrassing position of having both the legitimate (Mattiwaza) and usurping claimants (Artatama and Šuttarna) to Mitanni's throne dependent upon him (he had already bound himself by the aforementioned treaty with Artatama). The dilemma was ingeniously solved. Officially the Hittites would recognize Artatama, "the king of Ḫurri," as Mattiwaza's overlord. Artatama and his house would replace the royal family of Mitanni as the leading dynast of the Ḫurrian confederacy. But because of the cruelties perpetrated by Šuttarna upon the lords of Mitanni, the conqueror would recognize Mattiwaza as Mitanni's rightful royal heir. A pretext for Hittite intervention into Mitanni was put forward with the marriage of Mattiwaza to Šuppiluliuma's daughter; for the bride's sake the Mitannian throne would be preserved for her son-to-be (*PD*, Nos. 1:55-58; 2:21-25).

That these events took place during the years of the Amarna letters have already been intimated. Letters 15 and 16 from Aššur-uballiṭ I to Akhenaten had indicated the breakdown of Mitanni's eastern empire, the first flowering of Assyrian independence. Both Artatama's and Šuttarna's official recognition of Assyria's newly won status corroborate the chronological conclusion obtained from these letters.[67] Further data remain to be garnered which lend support to the suggestion that Tušratta did not outlive the reign of Akhenaten. Of particular interest is Akizzi's remark made sometime after the "great Syrian" campaign, in which he quotes an Egyptian messenger as reporting that there were three or four kings of Mitanni who were hostile against the Hittite (EA 54:40-43; 56:39-42). Here it is ascertained that at a juncture in time following the Hittite "great Syrian" campaign the lords of Mitanni were far from being united. There is certainly no intimation of the presence of a unified political sphere. This is in vivid contrast to the earlier glimpse of Mitanni provided by Abdi-Aširta who speaks of "all kings of the king of the Ḫurri people" acting in one body under one head (EA 60:13-17). Given the reconstruction as presented here, the contention that by the end of the Amarna Age Tušratta is no longer to be accounted as an influential political power is again reinforced.

In the last analysis any final chronological assessment must await the verdict of where the third ᶜAmqi attack is to be placed in time vis-à-vis the Amarna years. For it was during Šuppiluliuma's third violation of Egypt's boundary that the Mattiwaza campaign took place which further reduced Mitanni's status to that of a peripheral, Hittite vassal state. By that time, of course, Tušratta had long passed from the political scene. The firm placement in history of the years between the first and third ᶜAmqi attacks would be tantamount to a synchronic establishment of Mitanni's metamorphosis from that of a great independent empire to that of an insignificant Hittite vassal state.

The Egyptian Counterattack at Qadeš

From an assessment of the literary materials gathered from the three state archives of Akhetaten, Ugarit, and Ḫattuša, it has been concluded that Šuppiluliuma's first ᶜAmqi attack against Egypt (referred to in the "Plague Prayers") occurred late in the Amarna period, probably sometime soon after Akhenaten's year twelve, and immediately after Šuppiluliuma's year twenty. In order to answer the question of when Šuppiluliuma's second ᶜAmqi attack occurred, whether within the Amarna

Age or at some later point in time, the events relating to this second Egyptian border violation must be placed under the scrutiny of available materials.

Of particular interest is the mention in Šuppiluliuma's annals (fragment 28; KBo, V, 6) of an Egyptian military attack against the middle Syrian city-state of Qadeš. What marks this attack as having an interesting significance is that it is closely associated in time with three other events: (1) the death of a pharaoh who is called in the Hittite records Nibḫururiya, (2) the fall of the city Kargamiš to the famed Hittite conqueror, and (3) Šuppiluliuma's second ᶜAmqi attack itself.

The present study first proposes to test the possibility of whether or not the incident of an Egyptian counteroffensive against the Syrian town of Qadeš can be placed within the Amarna years. If it turns out that the archaeological literary materials do suggest such a possibility, then there does exist a strong probability for also placing the second ᶜAmqi attack (and the events associated with that attack) within the Amarna Age. Secondly, the Hittite conqueror's second military thrust against Egypt's border region must also be measured against the available sources. If both the incident of an Egyptian attack against Qadeš and the Hittite retaliatory raid against ᶜAmqi (for the second time) are seen reflected in the corpus of the Amarna letters, then the reported death of a pharaoh, which also occurred in that same year, could have been none other than the Amarna Pharaoh Akhenaten.

Šuppiluliuma's annals--fragment 28. As an international incident, the effect of the Egyptian attack against the town of Qadeš transcends that of a local razzia in central Syria. The Egyptian counterattack, moreover, serves as an outstanding incident at the very start of Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war, a war which did not cease until the year of the great conqueror's death (KUB, XIX, 9).

According to the Hittite records dealing with these final six years,[68] Šuppiluliuma was at the time of the attack in Anatolia. He had sent a Hittite force under Prince Telipinu to march against Kargamiš. The districts of Aršiya and Kargamiš offered no resistance, but the as yet unsubdued citadel of Kargamiš shut its gate against the invader. Finding the city holding out, the Hittites camped nearby at a place called Murmuriga. Telipinu found in the delayed Hittite advance the occasion to return to his father, the king, at the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša. It was shortly after the prince's departure that the Hittites suffered two setbacks which struck simultaneously. The Hittite military camp at Murmuriga, consisting of six hundred men and chariots under the immediate command of an army officer named Lupakki, was surrounded and attacked by a military force termed "the Ḫurri." At the same time the country of Qadeš, the nominal vassal of the Hittites, experienced an invasion of Egyptian troops.

The battle reports from both localities were soon carried to Šuppiluliuma. The situation was later reviewed by Muršili:[69]

> To the country of Kinza, which my father had conquered, troops and chariots of Egypt came and attacked the country of Kinza. Word was brought to my father: "The troops and chariots which are up in Murmuriga, the Ḫurrians have surrounded them!" Thereupon my father mobilized troops and chariots and marched against the Ḫurrians (Šuppiluliuma's annals, fragment 28).

Marching to Togarmah Šuppiluliuma established a base at Talba. He then dispatched a flying column, under the dual command of his sons Arnuwanda and Zita,[70] to relieve his trapped forces. Following after, the main army eventually joined this column and prepared to attack Kargamiš. While the Hittite king was still engaged in this operation, he sent Lupakki and Tešub-zalma against ^{c}Amqi, which they plundered. This was the second ^{c}Amqi attack.

A year later Šuppiluliuma explained to a visiting Egyptian envoy why he again violated the Egyptian boundary:[71]

> I[myself] was . . . friendly, but you, you suddenly did me evil. You [came(?)] and attacked the man of Kinza whom I had [taken away(?)] from the king of Ḫurri-land. I, when I heard (this), became angry, and I sent [forth] my own troops and chariots and the lords. So they came and attacked your territory, the country of Amka.

According to Šuppiluliuma, it was Pharaoh who was responsible for breaking the Ḫatti-Egyptian "Kuruštama" accord. With the report that Egyptian troops were to be found within the borders of Ḫurri land, Egypt was looked upon as having declared war. In order to defend his newly won realm and avenge himself against such an Egyptian "border" intrusion, ^{c}Amqi had been plundered.

The "man (*amēlu*)" of Qadeš, identified as previously loyal to Ḫurri, could only have been Aitagama, who not only is known for his change of loyalty as described by Šuppiluliuma,[72] but also had become, by his obnoxious deeds, a prime target for just such an Egyptian campaign as reported in the Hittite records.[73] That the Egyptian expeditionary force was not successful in its attempt to crush the rebellious Qadeš is made evident by the annals of Muršili II which reveal that Aitagama was still on his throne some fifteen years later.[74]

The Egyptian records. The Hittite rendition *Nibḫururiyas*/

Bibḫururiya,[75] the cuneiform equivalent of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's prenomen (Nb-ḫprw-R^{c}), furnishes a rare synchronism between Ḫatti and Egypt. Found closely associated in the Hittite records with the events surrounding the second ^{c}Amqi attack and the fall of Kargamiš, it is a chronological factor of compelling persuasion. Nevertheless, the Egyptian records should be given an opportunity to render their independent verdict. Two questions may be raised: (1) Do these records suggest the likelihood of an Egyptian offensive in the remote region of Qadeš? (2) If so, do the Egyptian archaeological data favor Akhenaten or Tut^{c}ankhamūn, his successor, as the possible author of an Egyptian foray directed against Qadeš?

The probability that the Egyptian attack took place is strong. The territory in the vicinity of Qadeš long had been valued by the pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. During the reign of Thutmose III the region of Taḫši, located in the vicinity of Qadeš,[76] is mentioned repeatedly.[77] Amenhotep II confined one of his major military campaigns to this very district.[78] Qadeš itself was traditionally Egypt's "wretched enemy," a continual focal point of Syro-Palestinian opposition against Pharaoh.[79] Hence, in answer to the first question, an Egyptian expedition into central Syria is far from being a surprise.

The answer to the second question seemingly is not too difficult to obtain. Briefly, there is nothing from the archaeological materials pertaining to Tut^{c}ankhamūn's nine-year reign to suggest that that youthful boy-king carried out such a foreign venture. True, there is a single reference to an Asiatic campaign which was recovered from his tomb (along with an accompanying battle scene), but it is couched in unhistorical, stereotyped terms.[80] As one Egyptologist has commented: "One may hold some scepticism about the historicity of any such encounter."[81] Although Akhenaten's reign was also characterized by the usual laudatory tokens of foreign conquests (which was part of the perpetual propaganda of Egypt's monarchs),[82] the records pertaining to his years of rule do contain serious references to an Egyptian armed penetration into hither Asia. The badly destroyed tomb of Ḥaremḥab, built at Saqqāra while he was still a general under Akhenaten, provides data of this latter type. Amont his extant titles is the ambiguous phrase: "He who is by the feet of his lord on the battlefield on the day of killing Asiatics."[83] On the north side of Karnak Pylon XI is a relief showing the general leading three lines of Asiatic captives.[84]

Of a more specific nature is the recorded condemnation leveled against Akhenaten by Tut^{c}ankhamūn himself. On a stela erected in the Temple of Amūn at Karnak, Tut^{c}ankhamūn charged his predecessor with military failure: "If [*the army* was] sent to Djahi to extend the frontier of Egypt, no success of theirs came at all."[85] As the geographic domain of Djahi included Qadeš on the Orontes,[86] the remark is possibly to be connected with the Egyptian incursion into Syria referred to by the Hittite texts. That an Egyptian army did suffer a humiliating defeat has already been adduced; it is a fact which blends itself convincingly with the tenor of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's bitter accusation. Admittedly, however, this is a thin thread, perhaps too thin, to erect any synchronic reconstruction of events. Only further data from all sources can provide a satisfactory answer. Nevertheless, at this point it may be well to note that the presently available Egyptian evidence, taken alone, makes such an Egyptian campaign against Qadeš, as envisioned by Šuppiluliuma's annals, more plausible if assigned to the reign of Akhenaten rather than to that of the youthful Tutᶜankhamūn.

The Amarna sources and the Qadeš attack. A series of Syrian letters, which for demonstrable reasons date toward the end of the Amarna era, lend credence to the suggestive evidence from Egypt. The letters possibly provide another link supporting a battle of Qadeš during Akhenaten's reign. If interpreted aright, these missives supply the motive and the route by which an Egyptian military force possibly penetrated into the Orontes Valley.

The annals of Šuppiluliuma speak of the Egyptian Qadeš attack as having occurred just prior to the death of a pharaoh. If the Amarna missives in question are in reference to the preparations being made for this same attack, then they, too, must show that such an event also came at the end of a pharaoh's reign. Seemingly this was the case. The pharaoh who died in the late Amarna Age was Akhenaten. The fact that he did not send forth troops from Egypt into Asia until at least the end of his reign may be ascertained from the information supplied by EA 124 (from Rib-Haddi of Byblos). The letter is to be assigned well along into the Amarna period; it was written sometime after the slaying of Abdi-Aširta and at a point near the close of Rib-Haddi's career, when only the city of Byblos remained under his care (lines 9-10). In the letter Rib-Haddi complains to Akhenaten in blunt terms: "Behold, thus you say: 'You write me more than all the governors!' Why should they write to you? (Their) cities belong to them (but) my cities Aziru has taken" (lines 34-40). The letter then goes on to say that Pharaoh had not gone forth to deal with his (Asian) enemies (lines 45-48). The tone of the epistle is reminiscent of Rib-Haddi's other missives (116 and 132) where Akhenaten was caustically reminded that unlike his own disinterest, his father went forth and inspected the lands and his regents with his own eyes (cf. Appendix III). It follows that any statement found in the Amarna letters from Syria which speaks of the presence of an Egyptian expeditionary force, must be measured against the Rib-Haddi correspondence, the implication being that up to the closing years of the Amarna Age Akhenaten did not send forth troops from Egypt.

It is a conclusion that agrees with the historical situation obtained from Egypt. Akhenaten's energetic program in Egypt against the powerful priesthood and the established religion makes it difficult to imagine the "heretic" sending forth his army during his early reign. The controversial and unpopular innovations of his religious upheaval presumably would have kept him busily occupied within Egypt. During those unpopular initial years of his "reformation," Akhenaten could hardly afford to jeopardize his personal security by sending an expeditionary force away on a foreign venture. If he did finally send forth an army, it imaginably would be when his internal policies for Egypt had been safely initiated. Such reasoning does at least find its corrolary in the Rib-Haddi file.

The Akizzi letters are again of importance. Expressed within the correspondence is fear of both the Hittites (EA 55:40-41) and of Aziru who plunders the land (EA 55:44-48). Aitagama of Qadeš is spoken of as militarily assisting the Hittites; he is even reported to have begged Akizzi to join in an alliance with Ḫatti (EA 53:8-13). Egypt's friends within the vicinity of the Orontes Valley are also named:[87]

> Oh my lord, even as I bear love unto the king my lord, so also do the king of Nuḫašše, the king of Niʾi, the king of Zinzar and the king of Tunanat. Verily all these kings belong to those of (the party of) my lord, are vassals of thine (EA 53:40-44).

Thus the North Syrian states are portrayed seething with resentment against enemies of which Egypt should be made cognizant. Aziru of Amurru is endangering the vassal lands; Aitagama is not only disloyal but also a threat to the whole region; Hittite hegemony over Syria has become alarmingly entrenched. If Egypt would keep its hold over its vassals, it must act (EA 53:53). Pharaoh had many disloyal vassals in Syria, but over and over again he is made aware that Amurru and Qadeš are the two outstanding threats to Egypt's Asiatic interests. The two countries are not only openly disloyal vassals, but also are presented as actively bringing about the cessation of what influence Egypt had left in the region. Did Pharaoh hearken and react to the accusations? An eventual Egyptian assault upon Qadeš already has been made evident; it later will be seen (in Chapter Five) that Pharaoh also called Amurru to account.

What is to be remarked upon at this point, however, is the presence in Qaṭna of special Egyptian messengers. They seem to herald a more direct approach by Egypt to the grave crisis which faced her Syrian possessions. Presumably there may have been some basis for Akizzi's hope that the messengers were forerunners of a force of archers (EA 53:53-55), for they sought specific intelligence bearing on Egypt's disintegrating empire (EA 54:38-43; 56:36-43).

Other letters also reflect Egypt's growing concern over events in Syria. Zimrēda, king of Ṣidon, wrote to Pharaoh that in spite of the loss of his satellite cities, who have sided with the ^{c}Apiru (EA 144: 24-26), preparations have been made in expectation of an arrival of

Pharaoh's archers (lines 19-21). Nor was Ṣidon the only Phoenician coastal town preparing to receive an expeditionary force. ^{c}Ammunira of Berūta (modern Beirut) speaks of Pharaoh's archers as though they would shortly arrive by ship (EA 141:18-33).

Of importance is the late date within the Amarna era to which these letters from Akizzi, Zimrēda, and ^{c}Ammunira are to be assigned. ^{c}Ammunira's correspondence (141-143) represents the end of the Rib-Haddi episode. By the time of the Berūta letters, Byblos had risen against its master, Rib-Haddi, who in despair had fled southward to his relation by marriage, ^{c}Ammunira.[88] Akizzi's letters, which postdate his ascendancy to Qaṭna's throne sometime after the "great Syrian" campaign, seem to be removed at least three years from that event (EA 52:36). The situation described in his epistle EA 53:24-39 concerning the aggressive action of Aitagama and Aziru against Biryawaza of Upe, is duplicated in a letter of Abimilki of Tyre (EA 151:59-63). In EA 155 Abimilki speaks of the desperate situation facing not only his own coastal city, but also the port-towns of Berūta and Ṣidon (lines 66-70). Much like Zimrēda's letter 144, Abimilki renders the same pessimistic report concerning the Phoenician coastal region. Only this time things have grown worse; the whole region is on the verge of completely expelling all regents affiliated with Egypt. The same letter several times refers to Akhenaten's daughter, Meritaten (cuneiform Mayati). The fact that Meritaten's prominence is associated with the period around Akhenaten's death and the rise of his coregent Semenkhkerē^{c}, safely places the Abimilki epistle (EA 155) and the probably slightly earlier Zimrēda letter (EA 144) to the period of these changes in the Egyptian royal household.

In concurrence past studies have shown that the Abimilki correspondence (EA 146-155) belongs fairly close together, during the last years of Akhenaten and immediately after his death.[89] This conclusion independently brings Abimilki's letter 151 and Akizzi's letter 53 (with their corresponding passage) within the closing Amarna years. It is a conclusion that would measure chronologically well with letter 124 and its implication that until his later years Akhenaten had no apparent plans for sending forth Egyptian troops.

The combined force of the synchronic overlapping of personalities (Aitagama, Aziru, Biryawaza, and Meritaten) and events (the accelerating deterioration of Egyptian influence in Syria), almost preclude that the approach of the archers of the king for which Zimrēda was preparing was the same for which ^{c}Ammunira prepared.[90] Arzawiya of Ruḫizzi, a prince of the ^{c}Amqi area, mentioned in two of Akizzi's letters (EA 53:36; 54:26) and in a missive from Biryawaza (EA 197:26), also writes that everything is prepared for the arrival of Pharaoh's archers (EA 191:4-6, 11-14). Evidently a plan existed for an Egyptian expeditionary force to sail northward up the Mediterranean littoral. Stopping their ships for supplies at Ṣidon, troops would be disembarked at Berūta (north of Ṣidon, but to the south of Byblos), at which point they presumably then would march directly eastward to the ^{c}Amqi district in the Biqā^{c}, where Arzawiya awaited their arrival (EA 191:11-14).

The existence of such a contingency, whereby Egypt would militarily intervene directly into central Syria in order to check the erosion of its authority over its vassals is worth assessing. The establishment of an Egyptian army base at ^{c}Amqi, about forty kilometers directly to the south of Qadeš, could have served to supply an attack against Aitagama's rebellious territory. The existence of the above contingency dated late in the Amarna years--toward the end of Akhenaten's reign--emerges as significant. The sources from Amarna Age Egypt pointed toward the conclusion that it was Akhenaten and not Tut^{c}ankhamūn who launched the Egyptian attack against Aitagama's Qadeš. The Amarna archives fail to remove that possibility, and in fact enhance such a conclusion.

The correct chronological placement of Šuppiluliuma's second violation of Egypt's borderland now becomes an overriding object for detailed consideration. Did this violation take place during the reign of Akhenaten, as the Egyptian and Amarna records suggest, or later, at the close of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's reign as the traditional interpretation of the Hittite materials imply? It is hoped that a study of the second ^{c}Amqi attack will answer that question.

The Second ^{c}Amqi Attack of Šuppiluliuma

The Hittite materials. Identified in the "Plague Prayers" of Muršili, the second ^{c}Amqi attack is to be seen in proper perspective only in light of the recensions of Šuppiluliuma's annals. Here it is learned that at the very moment Lupakki and Tešub-zalma were leading back their plunder of deportees, cattle, and sheep from ^{c}Amqi, Šuppiluliuma, then directing a siege against Kargamiš, received an unusual message from the widow of a late pharaoh identified as *Nibḫururiya*, offering the kingship of Egypt to a son of the Hittites' choosing. The offer was so unbelievable that Šuppiluliuma called together his counselors. It was decided to dispatch the "chamberlain" Ḫattuša-zita to

Egypt to verify the truth of such a preposterous offer. While waiting for the envoy's return, Šuppiluliuma took and sacked Kargamiš after a siege of only eight days. Because of the city's stubborn resistance, its native monarchy was completely eliminated from the political scene and the conqueror installed a son of his as king of Kargamiš. In the annals this son is known by his Ḫurrian name, Šarri-Kušuh, but in the two versions of the Mattiwaza treaty (*PD*, Nos. 1 and 2) he is called by his second "Hittite" (Nesian) name, Piyaššili.[91]

The Amarna materials. It has been seen from the contents of EA 171 that after the "great Syrian" campaign the Egyptian government entertained serious reservations concerning the loyalty of Aziru. Despite his protestations of loyalty, the reports from his Syrian neighbors judged him as a threat to those of the native aristocracy who claimed loyalty to Egypt. It is not surprising to find Pharaoh finally serving a summons for Aziru to come to Egypt (EA 164:20; 165:14-15, 25; 166:12-16; 167:17-19). But the wily Amorite ruler, who at this time was dwelling in Tunip, repeatedly begs off with the excuse: "The king of Ḫatti is (now) in Nuḫašše and I am fearful of his presence. (From Nuḫašše it is only) two one(-day) journeys to Tunip . . . Hopefully he will not come to Amurru!" (EA 167:20-25; cf. EA 165:39; 166:26).[92] The excuses only served to delay Aziru's inevitable day of reckoning. He had been given the alternative to either prove himself subject to Egypt, or to be recognized as a disloyal vassal.

Circumstantial evidence indicates that Aziru ultimately heeded Pharaoh's summons and presented himself to the Egyptian court. Among the peripheral items bearing on this conclusion is letter 170 by the two authors Ba^{c}aluya and Batti-Ilu, brothers of Aziru (EA 165:8-9; 161:20). Addressed "to the king our lord," the epistle urges: EN-ni ki-i-me-e te-le-eḫ-e-mi ù pa-ni-šu-nu ṣa-bat, "Our lord, as soon as you can, take the lead of these troops" (lines 10-11).[93] As their direct lord is Aziru, the letter has been correctly interpreted as being addressed to him.[94] Otherwise it would seem presumptuous for the petty chieftains to entertain the notion that the great Pharaoh should come to take over leadership of a body of (native?) troops in remote Amurru! Found in the Amarna archives, the letter to Aziru possibly indicates that he was to be located, at the time of its writing, in Egypt. Other materials from the Amarna archives, Ugarit, and Boghazkoy combine to provide more positive factors which leave little room for doubting the validity of this interpretation. The weight of this evidence awaits discussion in Chapter Five. For present purposes it is sufficient to point out the fact that Aziru was at one point in his career not present in Amurru. Indeed, he was away long enough for rumors to circulate that he would not be seen again in Syria (the anxious letter 169).

The crisis that faced Amurru under the temporary, caretaker regime led by Ba^{c}aluya (cf. RS 19.68; EA 170:28-29), was of grave proportions. Letter 170 accuses the Hittite commander Lupakki of taking towns in the land of ^{c}Amqi with Hittite troops. The text reads: "The forces of the land of Ḫatti (under) Lupakku have taken the cities of the land of Amki and have taken some of the cities of ^{m}A-ad-du-mi; so let our lord know" (lines 14-18). Even at the moment of writing, as the next few lines indicate, Zita, a son of Šuppiluliuma, was threatening the country.[95] Ba^{c}aluya reports that if it be confirmed that the Hittite authors Ba^{c}aluya and Batti-Ilu, brothers of Aziru (EA 165:8-9; 161:20). Addressed "to the king our lord," the epistle urges: *EN-ni ki-i-me-e te-le-eḫ-e-mi ù pa-ni-šu-nu ṣa-bat*, "Our lord, as soon as you can, take the lead of these troops" (lines 10-11).[93] As their direct lord is Aziru, the letter has been correctly interpreted as being addressed to him.[94] Otherwise it would seem presumptuous for the petty chieftains to entertain the notion that the great Pharaoh should come to take over leadership of a body of (native?) troops in remote Amurru! Found in the Amarna archives, the letter to Aziru possibly indicates that he was to be located, at the time of its writing, in Egypt. Other materials from the Amarna archives, Ugarit, and Boghazkoy combine to provide more positive factors which leave little room for doubting the validity of this interpretation. The weight of this evidence awaits discussion in Chapter Five. For present purposes it is sufficient to point out the fact that Aziru was at one point in his career not present in Amurru. Indeed, he was away long enough for rumors to circulate that he would not be seen again in Syria (the anxious letter 169).

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A group of letters from the cities in ^{c}Amqi itself reflect the deteriorating situation (EA 174, 175, 176, and 363). The formulation and language of these four letters are identical word for word; they surely were written by neighboring towns acting in concert. The letters all deal with the same event: an impending Hittite attack on ^{c}Amqi in alliance with Aitagama, king of Qadeš. What emerges is a definite historical event difficult to separate from that given in the Hittite records. Like the Amarna sources, the Hittite texts speak of Lupakki in connection with leading a raid against ^{c}Amqi. The Hittite prince, Zita, is similarly pictured as being nearby. The latter figure was last to be seen in Šuppiluliuma's annals at the very time of the second ^{c}Amqi violation, poised with an army in the vicinity of Kargamiš. The ^{c}Amqi letters and the annals thus complement each other as though picturing events from around the same time.

In EA 53 Akizzi had warned Akhenaten (Namḫuriya) of the precarious situation that faced the cities of ^{c}Amqi. According to the letter, if the kings of Labana and Ruḫizzi were allowed to remain and sit (i.e, rule) in the land of Am[k]i, the whole region of Upe would no longer belong to Egypt (lines 56-59). The contents of this letter assert, in the same manner as the group of letters from ^{c}Amqi, that it is the king of Qadeš, with the king of Ḫatti, that are attacking (lines 8-9). Only this time the attack threatens the region of Qaṭna, a good ways to the north of ^{c}Amqi. It may be gathered that the Hittites were to be found consolidating their Syrian conquests sometime prior to

Lupakki's raid into ᶜAmqi. This was probably why Aziru had been fearful of their reported presence in Nuḫašše. The relative time at which the Hittites began renewed military operations in northwestern Syria can be judged by a reference in the Rib-Haddi file: "I have heard that the Hittite troops are scorching the land with fire" (EA 126:51-52).[96] Written when he was an old man (line 46), at a period when all the regents seemingly had united with Aziru (lines 9-11), and only his own city Byblos remained (lines 36-38), Rib-Haddi's letter may be dated to the time bordering the total collapse of his position and his subsequent flight to Beruta. It is the period verging on the events alluded to in the ᶜAmmunira, Zimrēda, and Akizzi correspondence, letters which heralded Pharaoh's renewed interest in intervening militarily in Syrian affairs.

Irrespective of when the Hittites began mopping up pockets of anti-Hittite resistance in North Syria, consolidating the gains which had accrued to them as the result of the "great Syrian" campaign, Egypt's recognized border--the ᶜAmqi region--remained unviolated until the second attack against that territory listed in Muršili's "Plague Prayers." Akizzi's letters 53 and 56, Rib-Haddi's letter 126, together with Aziru's correspondence, dated after the first ᶜAmqi attack and before his Egyptian interlude, all allude to the renewal of Hittite activity in North Syria. But only after Aziru's departure for Egypt does Pharaoh hear that the Hittites in conjunction with the king of Qadeš have plundered the borderland of ᶜAmqi (EA 170 and the ᶜAmqi letters 174, 175, 176, and 363).

EA 140 from Ilirabiḫ, who ruled Byblos after Rib-Haddi's flight to Beruta, substantiates the conclusion drawn from letter 170 (*i.e.*, that Aziru was in Egypt during Lupakki's ^{c}Amqi raid). There Ilirabiḫ complained to Pharaoh that at the very moment Egypt was favoring Aziru in allowing that chieftain to enter the royal courts of Egypt (lines 8-9, 22-23), the Amorite was at the same time giving aid and comfort to an attack against ^{c}Amqi. In a bitter accusation against Aziru the text reads: "He has sent people to support Aitagama and he has smitten all the lands of Amki, lands of the king, and now he has sent his people to conquer the lands of Amki and (its?) places (*mātāti Amki u ašrati*)." The letter ends with an unfinished sentence concerning the actions of the kings of Ḫatti and of Na<h>rima.

In summary, the following picture has been obtained. Several Amarna letters speak about an attack against Egypt's border region of ^{c}Amqi. EA 170 reveals that it is the Hittites (under) Lupakki who were pillaging towns of that borderland area. The Amarna letters from the cities in ^{c}Amqi expand the scene by charging that the king of Qadeš was actively assisting the Hittites in burning their towns. Ilirabiḫ's letter 140 further adds that supporting troops from Amurru also were taking part in that military raid.

Like the second ^{c}Amqi attack listed in the Boghazkoy materials, the Amarna sources reflect the Hittites in a razzia against the towns of ^{c}Amqi. In both cases the commander of the Hittites is named Lupakku, and in both cases the attack follows a report of (potential or actual) Egyptian troop activity in central Syria. If this were not enough--in both cases the report of the razzia dates to a time bordering on a pharaoh's death (*e.g.*, the Amarna letters in question [EA 170, 174-176, 363, 140] were written late in Akhenaten's reign, while the Hittite records actually speak of a pharaoh's death as having taken place at the moment of the borderland attack).

To add to these similarities is the intriguing fact that the Akizzi correspondence contains the word "[Ka]rgamiš" in a much mutilated passage as though in reference to an attack against that city (EA 54: 51). Was this a reference to Šuppiluliuma's siege of Kargamiš at the time of the conqueror's second attack against ᶜAmqi? The Hittite raid against ᶜAmqi contained in the Syrian letters under question certainly could not have been in reference to a random Hittite razzia. The "Plague Prayers" go out of their way to stress the fact that there were only three specific violations of that border region during the lifetime of Šuppiluliuma. Since these three violations can be identified with historical events (cf. Appendix VI), the report of such an attack late in the Amarna Age could only have been a reference to Šuppiluliuma's second violation of the treaty sanctions between Egypt and Ḫatti.

The identity of Nibḫururiya. A synthesis of the available data so far has shown that both the Egyptian counterattack against Qadeš and the Hittite retaliatory pillage of the ᶜAmqi-lands plausibly may be dated to a time within the late Amarna years. In light of the evidence just assessed, it may even be said that to postdate this second Hittite border raid to a point in time beyond the Amarna years would be a difficult feat to accomplish. Yet just such a placement is posited by current literature bearing on the history of the ancient Near East. The reason for the existence of such an impasse, which abruptly confronts the present study, revolves around a matter which has been avoided deliberately until now. That matter concerns itself with the identity of Pharaoh *Nibḫururiya*, whose death was reported to the Hittites shortly after Šuppiluliuma had ordered his second ^{c}Amqi violation. According to the findings of the present study, that Pharaoh should be identified as Akhenaten.[97] A majority opinion, however, holds that the pharaoh in question was Tut^{c}ankhamūn. Consideration must therefore be given to: (1) the validity of the synchronism afforded by the appearance of an Egyptian king's name in the annals of a Hittite monarch, (2) an identity of the name *Nibḫururiya*, and (3) a conclusion as to that Pharaoh's identity in relationship to the known history of the Amarna Age.

1. *The validity of the chronological synchronism*. The cuneiform equivalent of a known pharaoh's prenomen, appearing in connection with events surrounding the second ^{c}Amqi attack, is precisely defined. A pharaoh called *Nibḫururiya*, or as another recension puts it, *Bibḫururiya*, dies. Within the same year Kargamiš falls into the hands of Šarri-Kušuḫ/Piyaššili. Six years later Šuppiluliuma is dead. It is not often that the ancient Near Eastern sources provide such a close chronological link between powers remotely separated from each other.

2. *The identity of the name Nibḫururiya*. The name *Nibḫururiya* can hardly be any other than Tut^{c}ankhamūn's prenomen *Nb-ḫprw-R^{c}*; it appears again in the almost identical form *Nibḫurririya* in a letter written by Burnaburiaš to Akhenaten's short-lived successor (EA 9).[98] Furthermore, Akhenaten's prenomen *Nfr-ḫprw-R^{c}* is found rendered in cuneiform as *Napḫuririya* or *Namḫuriya* (compare EA 7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 53, and 55), the initial element *Nefer(-Kheperu-Rē^{c})* being distinct enough from Tut^{c}ankhamūn's *Neb(-Kheperu-Rē^{c})* to be differentiated in contemporary dialectical cuneiform.

3. *The conclusion*. That the name *Nibḫururiya* is Tut^{c}ankhamūn's prenomen must be accepted. But whether or not the name *Nibḫururiya* is to be accepted as a synchronic reference to Tut^{c}ankhamūn is another matter. In spite of the identity of the name, there still remains in existence a conflict of sources between Šuppiluliuma's annals which report that it was Tut^{c}ankhamūn who died and the data from the late Amarna years which imply that it was really Akhenaten whose death was reported. A point to be stressed is the fact that it is only the appearance of the name *Nibḫururiya* in the Hittite text which argues against a dating of the second ^{c}Amqi attack as an event falling within the Amarna Age. Only this single item among an array of other factors stands in the way of a conclusion acceptable to the known sequence of events as reconstructed from that Age.

If it were just a matter of conflicting sources, the name *Nibḫururiya* would seem decisive enough to settle the matter. But the fact that its appearance is in marked variance with everything known about that era (cf. Appendix VI), leads to the inescapable conclusion (1) that the reported death of "Nibḫururiya" could only have taken place during the period of the Amarna letters[99] and (2) that the cuneiform name must be taken as an appellative applicable only to Akhenaten.[100]

The Third ^{c}Amqi Attack

The Mattiwaza campaign. The events of the final years of Šuppiluliuma's reign, the years of the so-called "six-year Syrian war," are fairly well known, thanks especially to the preservation of the conqueror's annals. It had begun with the siege and capture of Kargamiš.

The next spring Ḫattušа-zita returned from Egypt accompanied by the Egyptian official Ḫani (possibly the same Han'i as known from the Amarna letters).[101] Receiving at that time the written reply of the queen of Egypt, Šuppiluliuma took the occasion to upbraid the Egyptians for their earlier attack against Qadeš. Ḫani, however, was able to persuade the angry king that Egypt's intentions were sincere; that the queen of Egypt was desirous of marrying a Hittite prince. Thus it happened that the Kuruštama treaty between Egypt and Ḫatti was formally reestablished. Zannanza, a son of Šuppiluliuma, was sent southward in fulfillment of the renewed request of the Egyptian queen (annals, fragments 29-30).[102]

Sometime later, possibly while campaigning in Anatolia, Šuppiluliuma received word that the people of Egypt had treacherously slain Zannanza (fragments 31-34).[103] In understandable rage, he wrote to Pharaoh (Tut^cankhamūn?), holding the latter responsible for the murder of his son and declaring war on Egypt as a result of it (KUB, XIX, 20).[104] Unfortunately the message to Egypt is preserved only on a badly damaged copy of the letter; it was the only letter dating to Šuppiluliuma's reign that was recovered at Boghazkoy during the 1906-07 archaeological expedition.

In the meantime Šuppiluliuma had sent Mattiwaza with Šarri-Kušuh, the newly appointed king of Kargamiš, together with an army, to reconquer Mitanni from Šuttarna III whose military position had been made strong by the resurgent might of his ally Assyria.[105] The campaign was bitter, the countryside surrounding the Mitannian capital Waššukanni was destructively burned. A pitched battle was fought with the Assyrians at Taite, in eastern Mitanni, but by that time Šarri-Kušuh had already overrun most of the country (fragment 35).[106] Mattiwaza[107] was thus established within Mitanni as a Hittite vassal and his treaty with Šuppiluliuma was renewed.[108]

Šuppiluliuma's war against Egypt. Šuppiluliuma's declaration of war upon Egypt was followed by the third ᶜAmqi attack. Muršili in the "Plague Prayers" severely censured his father's military reprisal on Egypt as a rash act: "My father let his anger run away with him, he went to war against Egypt and attacked Egypt" (KUB, XIV, 8).[109] The reason Šuppiluliuma was subjected to such subsequent Hittite censure was his disregard of the solemn oath of fidelity to the renewed "Kuruštama" treaty with Egypt which within that very year he had sworn to uphold.

The very words of lament which fell from the lips of the Hittite king upon hearing of the slaying of Zannanza are preserved in the annals (fragment 31): "Oh gods! I did no evil, yet the people of Egypt did this to me, and they (also) attacked the frontier of my country!"[110] Feeling justified in his course of action by the earlier Egyptian attack against Qadeš and their assassination of his son, the conqueror forthwith dispatched an army under the command of Prince Arnuwanda, the heir to the Hittite throne, to avenge himself against Egypt.

Combining both the meager information contained in the "Plague Prayers" with what little is revealed in Šuppiluliuma's annals indicate that the conqueror's third attack against Egypt's boundary land was successful. An Egyptian force (possibly composed of native mercenaries) was defeated and many prisoners were captured. A dangerously contagious disease broke out among these prisoners and was carried by them into Ḫatti, thereby causing a catastrophic plague which swept the Hittite empire. It was through an oracle of the gods that Muršili later was to discover that the misfortune came upon his nation as the result of the anger of the Ḫattian Storm-God Tešub, who held the Hittites responsible for Šuppiluliuma's violation of the "Kuruštama" peace treaty. Thus, because of an outbreak of a deadly disease important historical data were furnished for posterity dealing with the circumstances surrounding Šuppiluliuma's relationship with Egypt.

During the six-year period under discussion, possibly in connection with Ḫatti's war against Egypt, Nuḫašše once more revolted (under the leadership of Takib-šarri?) against their Hittite overlord. Šuppiluliuma was able to quell the outbreak and install Tette as king of the puppet-state (PD, No. 3).[111]

By this time Syria had become transformed. From a region of small and great states, in varying degrees of independence, the lands of the northeastern Mediterranean littoral became subject to the leavening cultural influence of Ḫatti. The dominance of the enigmatic Ḫurrian confederacy had been forever broken. In its place emerged leading states directly controlled by the conqueror's sons whom he made "kings," Šarri-Kušuḫ over Kargamiš and Telipinu over Ḫalba (KBo, VI, 28, obv. 6-25). Even Amurru became reduced from its international status of note to that of being numbered as one in a series of Hittite satellites (KBo, X, 13).

It is of historical interest that the Syrian dynasties sired by Šuppiluliuma's sons came to outlast by many centuries the eventual death of the Hittite empire at the end of the Bronze Age.[112] With the advent of the Iron Age (cir. 1200 B.C.) and the resultant vast changes that took place throughout the ancient Near East, the existence of the Neo-Hittite dynasts in Syria furnished a long-continuing legacy of Šuppiluliuma's grand moment in history as the conqueror of Syria.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1] *KBo*, V, 3 (the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and the land of Ḫayaša). J. Friedrich, "Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gessellschaft*, 31 (1926) and 34 (1930), article 30. Cf. McCarthy, S.J., *Treaty and Covenant*, p. 46; Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 28-29; and Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*..., pp. 40-41.

[2] In his book *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, K. A. Kitchen posits two Syrian forays by Šuppiluliuma prior to that conqueror's so-called "'First' Syrian War" (*i.e.*, the present study's "great Syrian" campaign). Kitchen's reconstruction is as follows: There is a "first capture of Išuwa" by the Hittites, followed by Šuppiluliuma's "first Syrian foray" (reflected in EA 45 and 17). So far the present study remains in essential agreement. Šuppiluliuma supposedly then initiated a "second Syrian foray," the existence of which may be doubted. Kitchen's reason for positing this "extra" campaign is that he sees two Hittite attacks against Syria described in *PD*, No. 1, obv. 1-47, where the present study sees only one such campaign (*i.e.*, the "great Syrian" invasion). To Kitchen the evidence for positing this "extra" invasion is found in the report that Abdi-Aširta had gone over to the Hittites (EA 75:35-40). As Kitchen reconstructs, this reference to a "Hittite campaign cannot be the 'first Syrian foray' which was a defeat for Ḫatti. It cannot be identified with Šuppiluliuma's 'First' Syrian War, because by then Aziru was ruler of Amurru . . ." (*ibid*., p. 27). While it is true that by the time of Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" invasion Aziru had replaced Abdi-Aširta as ruler of Amurru (cf. *infra*, Appendix V), the fact that the Hittite conqueror's first Syrian invasion ended in defeat does not mean that contact was not made with Amurru (cf. the present study's analysis). There are several other reasons for refuting Kitchen's sequence of events. By positing his extra "second Syrian foray" he has been forced to reconstruct three Mitannian clashes with the Hittites during the reign of Tušratta, when, as seems more likely, there were only two such encounters. The most telling argument against Kitchen's sequence is found in the Tette treaty (*PD*, No. 3) which indicates that a Syrian military incursion by Tušratta of Mitanni was followed by the "great Syrian" invasion, cf. the presentation of the present study. Accordingly, the evidence suggests: (1) a first Syrian foray ending in defeat for the Hittites, (2) an invasion into Syria by Tušratta, and (3) Šuppiluliuma then conducts a year-long "great Syrian" campaign. For an outline of Kitchen's scheme of events, cf. his book (*ibid*.), pp. 39-50.

[3] Waššukanni's exact locality remains unknown. Šuppiluliuma reaches Waššukanni by way of Išuwa, Alše (upper Tigris Valley), Kutmar (on the Batman Su?), and Šuta (on the lower Batman-Su?), and then returns to Kargamiš on the Euphrates as he travels toward Ḫalba (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 25-30). Šarri-Kušuḫ/Piyaššili and Mattiwaza pass Irrite and

Footnotes to Chapter III (2)

Ḫarran before coming to Waššukanni (*KUB*, VIII, 80). See the presentation of A. Goetze, *JCS*, 11 (1957), pp. 66-67, n. 139. Goetze would see Waššukanni as having been located in the vicinity of Mardin (*ibid*.).

[4] The "seventh" column is of particular importance, which in its extant state is composed of a number of fragments. Fragment 25 speaks of the people of Išuwa and certain Hittite deportees; Fragment 26 speaks about Šuppiluliuma attacking Kargamiš and his message to Tušratta. Fragment 27 speaks about an attack against Qadeš with a reference to a further source for the events of the "great Syrian" campaign as related in *PD*, No. 1, obv. 17-47 in which there is the sequence: (1) the vanquishment of Išuwa, (2) the attack against Tušratta's Mitanni, and (3) the battle with Qadeš and its two leaders, Šutatarra and his son Aitagama. See Hans Güterbock, "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as told by His Son, Muršili II," *JCS*, 10 (1956), pp. 46-47, 84-85.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 84.

[6] All quotations from the preamble to the Mattiwaza treaty in this chapter follow Goetze's translation, *ANET*, p. 318.

[7] Significantly Šuppiluliuma remains silent about Kargamiš in the preamble to the Mattiwaza treaty. This silence is in marked contrast to the boastful description of his conquests. It thus is certain that Kargamiš did not surrender to the Hittites at this time; indeed, the city was still maintaining its independence at the time of the second ᶜAmqi attack some years later.

[8] Cf. ". . . all kings of the king of the Ḫurri people" (EA 60: 13-14), and Šuppiluliuma's remark: ". . . the man of Kinza whom I had taken away from the king of the Ḫurri land" (his annals, Colophon of A, 7th Tablet, E, IV; Güterbock, *op. cit*., p. 97).

[9] Cf. Goetze's remarks, *JCS*, 11 (1957), p. 58.

[10] Cf. Michael C. Astour, "Place-Names from the Kingdom of Alalaḫ in the North Syrian List of Thutmose III: A Study in Historical Topography," *JNES*, 22 (1963), pp. 238-239; also Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II, article 512.

[11] M. B. Rowton, "The Date of Hammurabi," *JNES*, 17 (1958), pp. 105-106. In disagreement, Astour (*op. cit*., pp. 238-239) would assign Idrimi to either 1414-1385 or 1510-1480 B.C. The careful arguments of Rowton seem more convincing than the argument from silence which Astour stresses.

[12] Goetze, *op. cit*., p. 67, believes that Idrimi's "Barattarna," king of Ḫurri land (Idrimi inscription, lines 43-44), who exercised suzerainty over Mukiš during the fifteenth century B.C. (*supra*, n. 11), is not to be included as an ancestor to Tušratta. Rather Barattarna is

Footnotes to Chapter III (3)

to be viewed as an early dynastic representation of the Artatama II-Šuttarna III line. The fact that the identical title *šar šābē Hurri* is applied to Tušratta (EA 60:14), to Barattarna (Idrimi inscription, line 44), and to the king referred to in AT 2:74, does not militate against Goetze's hypothesis. The leading dynast of the Ḫurrian confederacy need not have been the king of Mitanni.

[13] The location of the Syrian country of Niʾi remains controversial. Sidney Smith would place Niʾi, with its elephant preserve, on the Euphrates, near Meshkineh. Niʾi would thus be almost due east of Ḫalba (S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi* (London, 1949), p. 54; *Alalakh and Chronology* (London, 1940), p. 37, n. 102. With this location John Wilson is in agreement (*ANET*, p. 240, n. 18). A host of other scholars, including Albright, Gardiner, Goetze, and B. Maisler, are convinced that Niʾi was not on the Euphrates but in central Syria, within range of the Orontes and possibly on the lake of Apamea (cf. Sir Alan Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, [1947], pp. 162*-167*; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* [Leiden, 1960], p. 167). See further the discussion in Appendix VIII.

[14] *PD*, No. 3, obv. 1:2-5 indicates that Tušratta challenged Šarrupši, at which point Šarrupši turned for succor to the Hittites. The Šuppiluliuma-Tette treaty then goes on to state that it was because of Mitannian intrigues and aggression that the Hittite conducted his campaign which made Ḫatti the master of "all the lands of Nuḫašše." The fact that when Šuppiluliuma finally arrived at Nuḫašše he found Šarrupši dead (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 38) would seem to imply that a pro-Tušratta faction had been placed in charge of Nuḫašše during Tušratta's military incursion into Syria. Šuppiluliuma must have been particularly angered at finding his "ally" dead and the Nuḫašše lands hostile.

[15] Ukulzat appears as Ulzat in the Alalakh tablets (AT 161:3); its location in Syria remains unknown; cf. Astour, *JNES*, 22 (1963), p. 233, article *109. Nuḫašše's location south of Ḫalba and north of Hamath stretched over a wide area. The northeastern border of this political state varied; at one time it reached the western bank of the Euphrates. The kingdoms contiguous to Nuḫašše at this time must have included Ugarit, Mukiš, Ḫalba, Niʾi (and Mitanni?). Cf. J. Lewy, "Studies in the Historic Geography of the Ancient Near East," *Orientalia*, 21 (1952), pp. 402-409, 414-415. See Map - Appendix VIII.

[16] For the excavation report, see R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Le Site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna (Paris, 1935). For du Mesnil's dating of Qaṭna's "final" destruction, p. 33. Cf. also the remarks of Frank H. Stubbings in "Chronology--Ancient Western Asia," *CAH*, I, Chap. VI, Rev. ed., Fascicle 4 (1962), p. 75, and M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'Età degli archivi politici* (Rome, 1962), pp. 40-41.

[17] du Mesnil, *loc. cit.*, dates the destruction to either 1385 or 1380 B.C.

Footnotes to Chapter III (4)

[18] A convenient summary of the data and the approximate years of the Qaṭna rulers are given by Claire Epstein, "That Wretched Enemy of Kadesh," *JNES*, 22 (1963), pp. 242-246.

[19] Cf. J. Bottero, "Les inventaires de Qaṭna," *RA*, 43 (1949), pp. 1-40. The publication of the cuneiform tablets from Qaṭna are found in Ch. Virolleaud, "Les tablettes cunéiformes de Mishrifé-Katna," *Syria*, 9 (1928), pp. 90-103, and "Les tablettes de Mishrifé-Qatna," *Syria*, 11 (1930), pp. 311-342.

[20] The name of the son of Šutatarra, king of Qadeš, is spelled variously Edagama, Etakkama, Aitugama, Etagama, Etaqkama, Ataqqama, and Itaqama (in the EA sources). In the Hittite inscriptions the name is Aitaggama. See O. Weber, *apud* J. A. Knudtzon, *EA*, p. 1276.

[21] Güterbock, *JCS*, 10 (1956), p. 47. The two persons who came to meet Šuppiluliuma at this time, as reported in Fragment 27, were undoubtedly Šutatarra and his son Aitagama; cf. *supra*, n. 4.

[22] See especially Y. Aharoni, "The Land of ᶜAmqi," *IEJ*, 3 (1953), pp. 153-161; also his summation in "Some Geographical Remarks Concerning the Campaigns of Amenhotep II," *JNES*, 19 (1960), p. 178, n. 4; M. F. Unger, *Israel and the Arameans of Damascus* (London, 1957), pp. 22-24, 127, n. 41. For the land of ᶜAmqi also see A. Kuschke, "Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Bikāᶜ," *ZDPV*, 70 (1954), pp. 104-129 and map; 71 (1955), pp. 97-110; 74 (1958), pp. 81-120.

[23] Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 127, n. 42; Kuschke, *ZDPV*, 74 (1958), pp. 103, 106. For a discussion of Lebōʾ-Hamath (Deut. 11:24, Josh. 1:4), see J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1959), pp. 100-101. The understanding of Lebōʾ-Hamath as a distinct locality and not as the general "entrance to Hamath" was first put forward by B. Mazar (Maisler), *BASOR*, 102 (1946), p. 9.

[24] See Goetze's translation of the historical preamble to *PD*, No. 5 in *ANET*, p. 204. Cf. the present study's remarks in Appendix II, under the subtitle "The Kuruštama treaty."

[25] The letters of Šuppiluliuma are published in PRU IV: *Dossier* II, A, 1, pp. 35-37; *Dossier* II, A, 2, pp. 40-43; and *Dossier* II, A, 3, pp. 48-52.

[26] J. Nougavrol, *PRU* IV, pp. 32-34; cf. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit*..., pp. 40-41, n. 58; Liverani is also in agreement, positing the Hittite advance southwards against Qaṭna and Qadeš as having taken place in the same year as the campaigns against Nuḫašše, Mukiš, and Niʾi, and the treaty with Niqmaddu of Ugarit.

[27] Kitchen, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Footnotes to Chapter III (5)

[28] *PRU* IV, pp. 9-10, 30. For a discussion of the title *Tawananna*, see Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 66-67.

[29] See the discussion of E. Laroche in *Ugaritica* III, pp. 99-103; also Güterbock, *SBo*, I, p. 84; Otten, *MDOG*, 91 (1958), p. 78.

[30] See the table listing the sources in *Ugaritica* III, p. 120. Cf. the appraisal of Kitchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2, 5, n. 1, 50.

[31] Following the discussion of Kitchen, *ibid.*, pp. 1-2. For the present study's interpretation on the twenty years, see Chapter II under the subtitle "The First Syrian Foray of Šuppiluliuma." Cf. Henri Cazelles' review of *Storia di Ugarit*..., *VT*, 13 (1963), p. 346.

[32] Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Interpretation et datation d'une scène gravée sur deux fragments de récipient en albatre provenant des fouilles du palais d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica* III, pp. 179-220; see especially pp. 190, 218-220. A recension in Ugaritic of an epistle sent to Pharaoh from a king of Ugarit is another item indicating Ugarit's close link which that city once enjoyed with Egypt (RS 16.117 in *PRU* II, pp. 33-35). The "*vase de mariage*" and the letter (RS 16.117) which speak of the arrival of Egyptian messengers must of course be dated to a time prior to Niqmaddu's subjection to Šuppiluliuma; cf. Cyrus H. Gordon's remark: ". . . we may assume that Nqmd was not so foolhardy as to plot against Shuppiluliuma with the rival empires of Egypt, Mitanni, Assyria or Cassite Babylonia, all of which were too distant to be counted on in any struggle against the great Hittite king," (*Ugaritic Literature* [Rome, 1949], p. x).

[33] Claude F. A. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit, quinzième, seizième et dix-septième campagnes (1951, 1952 et 1953)," *Syria*, 31 (1954), p. 41; Charles Virolleaud, *CRAIBL*, 1954 (1955), pp. 74-75.

[34] Cf. *PRU* IV, p. 27, n. 2. From RS 17.340 it is learned that Niqmaddu had been attacked by the anti-Hittite coalition of Mukiš, Nuḫašše, and Niʾi who had seized some of his cities and ravaged his territory. Niqmaddu then appealed to Šuppiluliuma for help and asserted his loyalty. Šuppiluliuma did send aid, driving out the enemy from Ugarit and returning to Niqmaddu the captives that had been taken by the anti-Hittite coalition. Accordingly, Niqmaddu was under obligation to the Hittite king and became his vassal (RS 17.340, lines 2-24). In a previous letter (RS 17.132) Šuppiluliuma held out to Niqmaddu the possibility of enjoying the king's favor (lines 17-18), protection (lines 30-34), and even having a sealed agreement regulating their relations (lines 51-52). This documented diplomatic background to Niqmaddu's subjugation to the Hittite makes it certain that there were no prior relations between Ḫatti and Ugarit (except possibly in the distant past, in the time of Niqmaddu's ancestors).

Footnotes to Chapter III (6)

[35] Schaeffer, *loc. cit.*; *Ugaritica* III, p. 167 and fig. 120.

[36] Battiscombe Gunn, "Notes of the Aten and His Names," *JEA*, 9 (1923), pp. 168-176; Fairman in *CoA* III, pp. 153, 183-184; Eric Uphill, "The Sed-Festivals of Akhenaten," *JNES*, 22 (1963), pp. 123-127.

[37] These dated Egyptian alabasters make it more than probable that Ugarit was a vassal of Egypt well into the reign of Akhenaten irrespective of whoever the Ugaritic king may have been at that time. Of the two Ugaritic rulers of the Amarna years, Ammištamru I and his son Niqmaddu II, it is more likely that Niqmaddu II was the recipient of the alabaster vases as it was he who was particularly close to Egypt prior to his capitulation to Ḫatti; cf. *supra*, n. 32. The fact that no more Egyptian alabasters occur at Ugarit until the brief restoration of Egyptian-Ugaritic relations in the reign of Ḫaremḥab reveal their significance as indicators of diplomatic relations with Egypt. See Schaeffer, *loc. cit.*; *PRU* IV, pp. 57-58.

[38] Nougayrol, *CRAIBL* (1957), p. 78.

[39] See the discussion by Albright, "An Unrecognized Amarna Letter from Ugarit," *BASOR*, 95 (1944), pp. 30-33; Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, pp. 121, 127-128.

[40] Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[41] The marriage alliance between Niqmaddu and an Egyptian king should not be considered in terms of making Niqmaddu the son-in-law of Pharaoh. As EA 4:6-7 plainly state: "From of old, a daughter of the king of Egypt has not been given to anyone."

[42] While Addu-nirari is not mentioned in *PD*, No. 1, he is mentioned in RS 17.340, lines 2-3, thus making it certain that the author of EA 51 is firmly tied to the events surrounding the "great Syrian" campaign. Cf. Nougayrol in *PRU* IV, pp. 32-34.

[43] Cf. the account of the Kassite king Agum Kakrime who went to Ḫani to obtain the Babylonian gods which had been taken thence by the Hittites under Muršili I (5 R 33; see Rowton, *JNES*, 17 [1958], pp. 103-104); also the experience of Anitta who brought back a statue of a god to Neša which had been taken away by an earlier king (the Anitta inscription, lines 39ff.). These two incidents stress the extraordinary importance the ancients attached to their city gods. To allow the relinquishment of the national god(s) was tantamount to abject surrender. In EA 134 Rib-Haddi writes that the gods of Byblos have never been known to flee their city, but now the gods have been given over to Aziru (lines 4-11). Obviously Rib-Haddi considered this event a dreadful calamity, an outrage against Egyptian suzerainty!

Footnotes to Chapter III (7)

[44] See especially the discussion of Albright, "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre," *JEA*, 23 (1937), p. 195; Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 68. A convenient discussion of pharaohs' *prenomen* (a religious or royal forename appended before the secular name or *nomen*) is given by Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), p. 51.

[45] F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, 19 (1922), p. 94. Both Campbell (*op. cit.*, p. 123) and Kitchen (*op. cit.*, p. 23, n. 1) place the Akizzi letters as coming sometime after the "great Syrian" campaign. Others, including M. F. Unger (*Israel and the Arameans...*, pp. 125-126) and M. Liverani (*Storia di Ugarit...*, pp. 40-41), would see the Akizzi correspondence as dating to a time prior to the Hittite's year-long military intervention into Syria. That Thureau-Dangin's original assessment remains correct is supported by the fact that Aitagama still is seen as king of Qadeš in the ninth year of Muršili II (the Hittite annals of Muršili II, *KBo*, IV; cf. Götze, "Die Annalen des Muršiliš," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gessellschaft*, 38 [1933], pp. 80-81, 104ff).

[46] Cf. the discussion in Chap. Five. For Aitagama's name in the Amarna materials, *supra*, n. 20.

[47] Campbell, following a suggestion by his mentor, W. F. Albright, would see the name Ariwanaḫi as the author of EA 198 (*op. cit.*, p. 131). That the name in line 4 should read *A-ra[-wa]-na*, however, seems very doubtful. A check with the original cuneiform characters does not yield the desired values (cf. Hugo Winckler and Ludwig Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna* [Berlin, 1889], p. 134, No. 152).

[48] The name Biryawaza was formerly misread "Namiawaza;" cf. Albright, "Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography," *JNES*, 5 (1946), p. 10, sub *6; F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, 37 (1940-41), p. 171; and the discussion by Mendenhall, *JNES*, 6 (1947), p. 123.

[49] Cf. the admirable discussion by Y. Aharoni, *IEJ*, 3 (1953), pp. 153-161. For the evidence showing that Biryawaza is to be dated late in the Amarna period, "during the last years of Akhenaten," see Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 131-132.

[50] Biryawaza's residence was in Kumedi (EA 53:22) where he was called the *amēl rāb* (EA 129:82-85). In letter 116 Rib-Haddi speaks of the *rabiṣ* of Kumedi (line 75). Most authorities identify Kumedi with the modern Kāmid el Lōz, in the neighborhood of the Biqā^{c} Valley; cf. A. Kuschke, *ZDPV*, 74 (1958), p. 101. In EA 197 Biryawaza speaks of himself as the defender of Kumedi (line 38). His lofty position in the Egyptian administrative system is also indicated in the same letter, where Biryawaza is seen admonishing certain Syrians who claim their allegiance to Ḫatti and not to Egypt (lines 24-26).

[51] Cf. the translation by Goetze, *ANET*, p. 203.

Footnotes to Chapter III (8)

[52] As Campbell has so cogently pointed out, letter 171 is the only one of Aziru's letters to mention Yanḥamu, who seemingly retires from public life shortly afterwards (Campbell, *op. cit*., pp. 90-91).

[53] Šauššatar is named as the conqueror of Aššur (*KBo*, I, 3, obv. 8f.), and is no doubt the owner of the seal impressed on the Nuzu tablet *HSS* IX, 1--proof that his realm extended into the regions east of the Tigris. Cf. Goetze, *JCS*, 11 (1957), pp. 66-67.

[54] EA 23 bears a hieratic docket which reads "year 36" of Amenhotep III; cf. Černý, *JEA*, 50 (1964), p. 38.

[55] Cf. V. Korošec, in *Zbornik znanstvenih razprav*, 23 (1950), p. 394, and Sidney Smith, "Middle Minoan I-II and Babylonian Chronology," *AJA*, 49 (1945), p. 22. Aššur-uballiṭ's correspondence addressed to Akhenaten and not to Amenhotep III yields independent confirmatory evidence that the "great Syrian" campaign is to be dated late in the Amarna years.

[56] EA 10:41 should read: *ù aš-šu mārti-ka ŠAL ma-i-ia[(a)-ti]m ki-i eš-mu-ú*, "and when I heard concerning your daughter Mayati . . ." EA 11: rev. 26 also should be corrected to read: *ki-i ŠAL ma-ia-tu-ma*, "Whereas Mayati . . ." Cuneiform "*Mayati*" has been plausibly identified by both Albright and von Soden with *Meri(t)ate(n)*; *JEA*, 23 (1937), p. 191; *Orientalia*, 21 (1952), p. 432; cf. Campbell, *op. cit*., p. 49. Evidence indicates that Semenkhkerē^{c}'s regnal years were contemporary with Akhenaten's fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth years. It was during these years, while Meritaten was married to Akhenaten's coregent Semenkhkerē^{c}, that she replaced Nefertiti as the most prominent woman of Akhenaten's court. Cf. Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (New York, 1963), pp. 158-163; Campbell, *op. cit*., pp. 56-57.

[57] Van der Meer cites a contract of Burnaburiaš' which dates from his twenty-fifth year, *The Chronology of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt* (Leiden, 1963), p. 17.

[58] EA 9 is addressed to *Nibḫurririya*, the prenomen of Tut^{c}ankhamūn (Egyptian *Nb-ḫprw-R^{c}*), as proved by Elmar Edel, "Neue Keilschriftliche Umschreibungen ägyptischer Namen aus den Bogazköytexten," *JNES*, 7 (1948), pp. 11-24. This is accepted by Rowton in *CAH*, p. 36.

[59] Van der Meer, *op. cit*., pp. 15-17; Rowton in *CAH*, p. 34.

[60] "Now, have I not written you (about) the Assyrians, who wait upon my presence? As to the news about them, why did they come to your country? If you would be kind to me, they would accomplish nothing. Keep them away from your gifts" (EA 9:31-36).

[61] Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon*, p. 83; Van der Meer, *loc. cit*.

Footnotes to Chapter III (9)

[62] The evidence presented here makes it difficult to accept the hypothesis of Kitchen who sees Tušratta continuing to linger on as ruler of Mitanni some thirteen to fourteen years after the "great Syrian" campaign! Kitchen, *op. cit*., pp. 33, 48.

[63] The sources pertaining to the history surrounding Tušratta's death are: *PD*, Nos. 1 and 2; *KUB*, III, Ia, b, c, and d; *KBo*, I, 3; *KUB*, III, 17; Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*..., pp. 2-57.

[64] Following the discussion by O'Callaghan, S.J., *Aram Naharaim*, p. 90. The name *Mattiwaza* may be a misreading. P. M. Purves *apud* Gelb, Purves, MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (Chicago, 1943) proposed that the *Mattiwaza* really should be read *Šattiwaza*, a proposal which received support from Benno Landsberger, *JCS*, 8 (1954), p. 130. Güterbock, *JCS*, 10 (1956), p. 121, n. 18, considers the possibility of the name being read Kurtiwaza (Aryan *Ḳrt-vāja*). Nevertheless, in his 1956 article, Güterbock followed the conventional spelling Mattiwaza. Mattiwaza's Ḫurrian name seems to have been Kili-Tešuba, *ibid*., p. 121.

[65] Cf. the discussion by Goetze, *JCS*, 11 (1957), p. 67.

[66] See the translation in *CAD* sub *ṣaburtu*: *māršu ša kī ṣa-bu-ur-ti īpuššu*, "his [Artatama's] son who has acted falsely against it (Mitanni)." Cf. Goetze's interpretation of the same phrase: "his son did him (*i.e*. his father) kind of evil," *op. cit*., p. 68, n. 153.

[67] Amarna references bearing on the relative placement of Tušratta's death are, of course, his own letters which show that he outlived Amenhotep III. The Mitannian king even informed Akhenaten that when he learned of *Nimmuriya's* passing, he wept and partook of neither food nor drink for a day and a night (EA 29:55-64). Letter 30 is also worth considering. Probably written by Tušratta (Campbell, *op. cit*., p. 37), the epistle asks for safe passage for a messenger bringing condolence to Pharaoh. It was undoubtedly a message of condolence to the successor of Amenhotep III. While there is nothing specific within the Amarna letters pertaining directly to Tušratta's demise, there is a reference to the passing of an important personage (EA 43:6). Because letter 43 was written on the same type of clay as letters 41, 42, and 44 from the Hittites, Weber suggests that the letter is concerned with the death of Tušratta (Weber *apud* Knudtzon, *EA*, p. 1095). Letters 15 and 16, indicating Assyrian independence at the expense of Mitanni, support a view which would see the end of Tušratta's political power (shortly followed by his death?) as occurring within the late Amarna years.

[68] Fragment 28 of Šuppiluliuma's annals, Güterbock, *JCS*, 10 (1956), pp. 92-94.

[69] *KBo*, V, 6; the translation is that of Güterbock's, *ibid*., pp. 92-93.

Footnotes to Chapter III (10)

[70] Arnuwanda was the heir presumptive to the Hittite throne. Following the death of his father Šuppiluliuma, he reigned for only a few months as Arnuwanda III (Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 32, 216; Goetze, *Kleinasien*, p. 85). Götze, "Šuppiluliumas syrische Feldzüge," *Klio*, 19 (1925), p. 350, and Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 124, claim that Zita was a brother of Šuppiluliuma. The Amarna materials, however, indicate that Zita was the son of Šuppiluliuma (EA 44:3). In the annals Zita bears the title "chief praetorian" and his name is placed after Arnuwanda, a known son of Šuppiluliuma.

[71] Colophon of A, 7th Tablet of Šuppiluliuma's annals; Güterbock, *ibid.*, p. 97.

[72] Cf. *supra*, n. 45. As previously discussed, Aitagama had been a vassal of Egypt up until the "great Syrian" campaign. At that time he had fought for the king of Mitanni (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 40-41), but was taken prisoner and later appears as the pro-Hittite ruler of Qadeš. The remark of Šuppiluliuma, quoted above, independently confirms the interpretation that the Hittites had severed Aitagama's former loyalties and had reappointed him in the place of his father as ruler of Qadeš.

[73] Compare the reports from Syria of Aitagama's anti-Egyptian activities (EA 53, 151; and the letters from the princes in ^{c}Amqi--174, 175, 176, and 363).

[74] In the ninth year of Muršili II, a renewed revolt by Nuhašše and by Aitagama of Qadeš was crushed. At that time Muršili replaced Aitagama on the throne by his son Niqmaddu, who had slain his father; *KBo*, IV, 4, ii; cf. Albright, *BASOR*, 95 (1944), p. 31 and n. 3; and Götze, "Die Annalen des Muršiliš," pp. 80ff., 104ff., and 112ff. Since the Egyptian attack on Qadeš occurred six years prior to Šuppiluliuma's death (*KUB*, XIX, 9), and Aitagama's fatal revolt occurred in the ninth year of Muršili, it may be concluded that fifteen years passed from the Egyptian Qadeš attack until Aitagama's death.

[75] *KBo*, V, 6, iii, 8 and the parallel text *KUB*, XXXIV, 24, 4 (Šuppiluliuma's annals); cf. *ANET*, p. 319; Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[76] For a discussion of Taḫši's probable location, see Sir Alan Gardiner in his *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, pp. 150*-152*. Cf. Astour, *JNES*, 22 (1963), p. 235, n. 29. A. Kuschke believes Taḫši is to be located south of Qadeš, *ZDPV*, 74 (1958), p. 102.

[77] In the "Biography of Amenemḫeb," it is stated that Thutmose III gained a victory at Meriu, in the country of "Taḫse" (Wilson *apud* J. B. Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 241); the district is also mentioned on the statue of Minmose who says he saw Thutmose III(?) when he "plundered thirty towns in the district of Takhsy" (Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 200).

Footnotes to Chapter III (11)

[78] The Amada and Elephantine Stelae; Wilson *apud* *ANET*, p. 248.

[79] R. O. Faulkner, "The Battle of Megiddo," *JEA*, 28 (1942), p. 15. Qadeš also is famed for a great battle which later took place between Ramses II of Egypt and Muwattali of Ḥatti (beginning of the thirteenth century B.C.).

[80] This single reference to an Asiatic campaign is found on a decorated chest accompanying a visible claim to foreign conquest. The legend reads: "the good god, son of Amon, hero without his peer, possessor of strong arm, crushing hundred-thousands and making them prostrate" (translated by John A. Wilson *apud* Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 251, n. 1). Painted on the chest is a battle scene in which Tut^{c}ankhamūn, single-handedly, decimates the Asiatic enemy. On the opposite side of the chest, the boy-king is similarly shown destroying Africans. The two scenes thus depict in graphic form the standard circumlocution attributed to Egypt's pharaohs who are typically lauded as "trampling down the foreign lands, treading unto Naḥarin (in the north) and unto Karoy (the capital of Kush in the south);" A. W. Shorter, *JEA*, 17 (1931), p. 23. Egypt's vassals are found employing the same theme: "The mighty hand of the king takes Nahrima and Kush" (EA 288:34-36). In like manner the sandals of Tut^{c}ankhamūn each portray an Asian and African warrior with bound hands, prisoners upon whom the youthful Pharaoh could literally treat (Alexandre Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, Plate 61). The details of the "Painted Chest" are given in Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, Plates XVI, XVII*a*, and XVII*b*.

[81] Wilson in *ANET*, p. 251, n. 1. Cf. the remarks of Sir Alan Gardiner: "Every Egyptian king was represented as a conqueror alike in the ancient writings and in the reliefs on the temple walls. . . . Such a disregard of reality was sometimes carried to absurd lengths. Who is going to believe that the eighteen-year old Tut^{c}ankhamūn ever drove his chariot straight into an alien host killing a score of foes with the arrows from his bow, or again that he slaughtered unaided a whole pride of lions? Yet such are the scenes depicted on the wonderful box from the famous tomb;" Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

[82] A fragmented fresco has been recovered from Akhenaten's city Akhetaten which shows the hackneyed decorative design of an Asiatic and a Negro captive kneeling together (*CoA* III, p. 88). Like the other pharaohs, the "heretical" king also is often pictured as the subjugator of foreign peoples (N. de G. Davies, "Akhenaten at Thebes," *JEA*, 9 [1923], p. 141). The unorthodox Akhenaten, committed as he was to "truth" (*ma^{c}at*) could hardly disassociate himself from the perpetual propaganda which was always part of the trappings of the pharaonic court.

[83] Wilson, "Texts from the Tomb of General Hor-em-heb," *ANET*, p. 251.

Footnotes to Chapter III (12)

[84] Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, articles 34-36, and p. 20.

[85] Wilson, "Tut-ankh-Amon's Restoration after the Amarna Revolution," *ANET*, p. 251.

[86] Note the statement by Ramses II (as translated by Wilson), "when his majesty was in Djahi on his second victorious campaign, the goodly awakening in life, prosperity, and health was at the tent of his majesty on the mountain range south of Kadesh," *ANET*, p. 256. These are the opening words of the official account of the great battle of Qadeš. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, pp. 140*-141*, would not place Qadeš in Djahi, but would interpret the text to mean that after Ramses had arrived at Djahi, he later received "a good awakening in the tent of His Majesty on the southern hilltop of Kadesh." However, the land of Djahi seems to have encompassed a large geographical area, including much of Palestine-Syria (*ibid*., pp. 145*-146*; Wilson *apud* *ANET*, p. 234 and n. 4). For a view that Djahi only included a coastal region, see S. Yeivin, "The Third District in Thuthmosis III's List of Palestino-Syrian Towns," *JEA*, 36 (1950), p. 51, n. 4.

[87] The general location of these sites is discussed by W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien...*, pp. 308-309; Gardiner, *op. cit*., p. 166*; Sidney Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi*, p. 41. Cf. the recent discussion by Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, pp. 33-35. Astour argues persuasively for the identification of Tunanat with Danuna.

[88] EA 142:15-17 tells of the arrival of Rib-Haddi at Beruta. Ilirabiḫ (EA 139-140) may have been the brother of Rib-Haddi who forced him from his own city of Byblos; cf. Helck, *op. cit*., 183. This incident affords a concrete example of how these Syrian cities were revolting against regents who retained uncompromising loyalty toward Egypt.

[89] Albright, *JEA*, 23 (1937), p. 196; cf. Campbell, *op. cit*., p. 71.

[90] Campbell would also place these two events together, *ibid*., p. 108.

[91] Güterbock, *op. cit*., pp. 120-121.

[92] See the translation in *CAD*, sub *ḫarrānu* (vol. Ḫ, p. 109).

[93] For the translation of *panišunu* as indicating "at their lead," cf. C. J. Gadd, "The Tell el-Amarna Tablets," *PEQ* (1940), pp. 122-123. Also Sidney Smith, "Amarna Letter 170 and Chronology," *Halil Edhem Hatira Kitabi*, I, (1947), p. 40; *CAD* sub *ṣabātu* 8 under *panu*.

[94] So Sidney Smith, *ibid*., p. 33; Y. Aharoni, *IEJ*, 3 (1953), p. 154, n. 8; Weber *apud* *EA*, pp. 1273-1274.

Footnotes to Chapter III (13)

[95] *Supra*, n. 70.

[96] Cf. *CAD*, I-J, p. 230.

[97] Cf. Appendix VI.

[98] The study of J. Vergote, *Tout-ankh-amon dans les archives hittites* (Istanbul, 1961) follows A. H. Sayce, "The Hittite Correspondence with Tut-Ankh-Amon's Widow," *Ancient Egypt* (1927), pp. 33-35; J. Sturm, "Wer ist Pipḫururiaš?" *RHA*, 2 (1933), pp. 161-176 and E. Edel, "Neue keilschriftliche Umschreibungen ägyptischer Namen...," *JNES*, 7 (1948), pp. 11-24, in dealing with the problem of the references to Tut^{c}ankhamūn's family in the Hittite archives discovered at Boğhazkoy and of the identification of his name in the Hittite language. For the identification of *Nibḫurririya* in EA 9, see especially Edel, *ibid.*, pp. 14-15; Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54; and Rowton, *CAH*, p. 36, n. 2.

[99] For the length of the Amarna years, see Appendix I.

[100] The question of whether or not it was Akhenaten's death that is reported in the Hittite annals has been discussed in recent years by Albright (1937), Sidney Smith (1947), Yohanan Aharoni (1953), and lately by E. F. Campbell (1964). That there is a chronological problem of vexing proportions also has been recognized by Mario Liverani who because of his explicit faith in the synchronism provided by Tut^{c}ankhamūn's prenomen, posits the "great Syrian" campaign (together with the synchronic materials from Niqmaddu's Ugarit) in the reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn. Liverani evidently recognized the difficulties of seeing Kargamiš attacked by Šuppiluliuma in the Amarna years (during the "great Syrian" campaign), but not capitulating until Tut^{c}ankhamūn's death more than a decade later. Cf. Henri Cazelles' review of M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit...*, *VT*, 13 (1963), pp. 346-348. See also Albright, *JEA*, 23 (1937), p. 194; Sidney Smith, *Halil Edhem Hatira Kitabi*, p. 37; Y. Aharoni, *IEJ*, 3 (1953), p. 156, n. 15; Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62. Both Albright and Campbell have ceased to adhere to their original assertions as their later publications show. The discovery of the parallel text *KUB*, XXXIV, 24, and its reading *Nibḫururiya*, which seemingly confirmed that *Bibḫururiya* was not a scribal error for Akhenaten's prenomen, has caused most contemporary commentators to accept the synchronism as applying to Tut^{c}ankhamūn. Compare, for example, Goetze's change in view from believing the name to have referred to Akhenaten (*Klio*, 19 [1925], p. 350) to his current position (*ANET*, p. 319, n. 3). The position which Goetze adhered to in 1925 was exemplified in classic formulation by Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 1 (2nd ed.), pp. 337ff., and E. Forrer, *Forschungen* II (1926), pp. 24-32.

[101] In the deeds of Šuppiluliuma as reported by Muršili, *Ḫa-a-ni-iš*, the Egyptian envoy, is given the title *bēlu* "lord" (*KBo*, V, 6, III, 44). In the Amarna letters there is also an envoy of Pharaoh

Footnotes to Chapter III (14)

(*mār šipri*) with the identical name of Ḫanni (EA 162). In one letter (367; translated by Albright in *ANET*, p. 484) he is identified as the son of Mairēya and as the *akil tarbaṣi* of the king for the land of Canaan. The title given him literally means "chief of the stable;" signifying a military official of high rank (= the Egyptian title *hry ỉhw*). The Amarna letters variously spell his Egyptian name, *Ḫnʾ*, as *Ḫa-an-i*, *Ḫa-an-ni*, representing the Semitic pronunciation *Ḫanʾi*. See Albright, *JNES*, 5 (1946), p. 11 sub *9; Edel, *JNES*, 7 (1948), p. 13 sub IV.

[102] Güterbock, *JCS*, 10 (1956), p. 107.

[103] *Ibid*., pp. 108-110.

[104] Published by E. Forrer, *Forschungen* II, pp. 28-30.

[105] Cf. the discussion in the present chapter, sub "The death of Tušratta."

[106] Güterbock, *op. cit*., pp. 110-111, 121.

[107] There is a question over whether or not the name "Mattiwaza" should be read "Šattiwaza" or "Kurtiwaza." Cf. *supra*, n. 64.

[108] *PD*, No. 1 apparently was ratified between Šuppiluliuma and Mattiwaza at the time the latter married Šuppiluliuma's daughter; the treaty was then reaffirmed after Mattiwaza was established in Mitanni (*PD*, No. 2) along with a Hittite version. The latter is edited by Johannes Friedrich, "Ein Bruchstück des Vertrages Mattiwaza-Suppiluliuma in hethitischer Sprache?" *AfO*, 2 (1924-1925), pp. 119-124.

[109] *ANET*, p. 395.

[110] Güterbock, *op. cit*., p. 108.

[111] See Chap. Five under the subtitle "The kings of Nuḫašše and Qadeš revolt." As Chap. Five will point out, the date of this revolt must be placed at a time after the second ᶜAmqi attack and the fall of Kargamiš. Not only is such a date suggested from the historical viewpoint which would see Tette's appointment as coming sometime after the "great Syrian" campaign, but *KBo*, VI, obv. 16-25, specifically mentions Šuppiluliuma as entering Nuḫašše after the fall of Kargamiš.

[112] In the ninth century B.C. records of Assyria, a North Syrian league comprising the states of Kargamiš, Til Barsip, Kummuh, Arpad, Samʾal, Unqi, Gurgum, and Melid are referred to as Ḫatti. They represented a remnant of the Early Iron Age period when Kargamiš under the rule of the descendants of Šarri-Kusuḫ (Piyaššili) was designated as the "Land of Ḫatti," or the "Kingdom of Great Ḫatti." Kargamiš was then the surviving heir to Ḫattuša's Late Bronze hegemony over North

Footnotes to Chapter III (15)

Syria and the head of all Neo-Hittite states in South Anatolia; see B. Landsberger, *Samʾal* (Ankara, 1948), pp. 30-32. The term Ḫatti received a broader denotation in the Assyrian inscriptions from the eighth century onward and denoted Syria (the home of the Hittite coalition of princes). Later in the Babylonian Chronicle, Ḫatti extended almost as far as Egypt (as possibly Judah had become part of a western coalition with a Neo-Hittite tradition). Cf. Hayim Tadmore, "Azriyau of Yaudi," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 8 (1961), pp. 232-271.

PART TWO

AZIRU AND THE HITTITE INVASION

CHAPTER IV

THE STORY OF A SYRIAN CHIEFTAIN

Part Two deals with the vicissitudes of Aziru, king of Amurru, in relationship to the two great powers (Egypt and Ḫatti) who vied for control in Syria during the latter half of the Amarna years (a period defined as extending from about Akhenaten's thirteenth regnal year until the fourth year of Tutᶜankhamūn's reign). Abdi-Aširta (as Aziru's father was known) had extended Amurru's hegemony southward along the Phoenician coast by the unorthodox manner of conspiracy and assassination. On the verge of success, when many of the coastal towns from Tyre northward to the kingdom of Ugarit were in the process of recognizing this resourceful Amorite's suzerainty (Byblos was a notable exception), Abdi-Aširta was caught in the rising tempo of international power politics. Political retreat came swiftly. Tušratta of Mitanni, following a declaration of war against Šuppiluliuma, swept southward into Syria consolidating his influence over that region, and directly challenged Abdi-Aširta's influence (EA 60:13-17). About the same time Egypt moved a seaborne force (mišē) up to the vicinity of the port town of Ṣumur, a strategic center long coveted by Amurru. It was at this juncture that Abdi-Aširta was assassinated (EA 101:5-6).

By this time Aziru already had become an important figure. Heir to his father's political course of aggrandizement, he led Amurru to a rapid recovery. On the eve of Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign, in which the Hittite conqueror decisively defeated Tušratta and his Syrian allies, Aziru received recognition as suzerain from the majority of coastal cities lying between Byblos and Ugarit (EA 98:4-12). However, Aziru's rapid rise to prominence was deflected by the changing international situation. Šuppiluliuma's conquest of northern Syria overturned the power structure of that region and affected contiguous areas. That campaign was to bring into being a variety of literary materials reflecting the impact this unconventional Syrian ruler had upon his contemporaries. The story is important, for Aziru's career exemplifies the changing political currents in Syria toward the end of the Amarna Age and indicates how those currents finally gravitated toward Ḫatti.

Aziru in the Amarna correspondence. Syria in the late Amarna years notably was affected by the intrusion of the Hittites into their homeland. According to the Amarna correspondence emanating from that region, the Hittites had burned the countryside with fire (EA 126: 51-52), took as ransom the city gods from such important centers as Qaṭna (EA 55:42-43, 56-57), garrisoned troops within the wealthy port city of Ugarit (EA 151:58), stationed high-ranking Hittite officials in Syria's midst (EA 44), and had sent messengers to Amurru (EA 161:48-49). Particularly appalling, as far as the Syrians loyal to Egypt were concerned, was the callous disloyalty portrayed by two of Egypt's erstwhile vassals, Aziru of Amurru and Aitagama of Qadeš. It was these perfidious Syrians who are singled out as assisting the Hittites in quelling the entire region (EA 53:8-15, 27-29, 56-62; 151:59-63). Aziru is further libeled with the accusation that he paid tribute to the "strong king" (Šuppiluliuma). That is why, it was charged, the Amorite chieftain is strong (EA 126:63-66).

Letters from North Syria show that both Egyptian prestige and influence markedly diminished as a result of the drastic Hittite invasion which Šuppiluliuma had inaugurated; an invasion which did not end until the conqueror had reached the borders of Amurru and Canaan. Biryawaza, Egypt's rabiṣ in charge of Upe and the ᶜAmqi district, could hardly maintain order (EA 7:75). Neither could Yanḫamu, the high rabiṣ over Canaan and Amurru, stop the disrupting in-fighting between the Syrian city-states under his command. Yanḫamu was ineffectual in maintaining security in the important rabiṣ-seat of Ṣumur (cf. EA 102:14-16). This administrative and defensive Egyptian outpost, important for supposedly maintaining Egypt's security in the kingdoms of Byblos and Amurru, was extremely vulnerable to the encroaching hegemony of the renegade chieftains of Amurru. For the Egyptians, the major disruptive influence along this coastal region was not the Hittites but the troublesome Amorite, Aziru.

Aziru's rebellion. The actions of Aziru (as was the case with Aitagama [cf. Chapter Three]) were not allowed to continue unreprimanded by Egypt. The high rabiṣ Yanḫamu was so incensed at the Amorite's perfidious conduct that he refused to have any dealings with Amurru or its chieftain (EA 171). The Egyptian foreign office (headed by a man named Tūtu) reacted to Aziru's disloyalty by enforcing those security measures which would bring pressure upon Amurru. An oath of fealty toward Egypt was exacted from Aziru, and he was ordered to demonstrate his loyalty by rebuilding the defenses of Ṣumur. Meanwhile the foreign office retained a somewhat uneasy grip upon the Amorite by holding two of his sons in custody at the Egyptian court (passim in EA 156-157, 159-160, 171).

Turning to the Hittite sources pertaining to Aziru's life, it is observed that Šuppiluliuma's relations with Amurru run in an exact opposite course to that just seen between Egypt and Amurru. In the correspondence recovered from Egypt, Aziru is pictured as having been a faithless subject rendering tribute to the "strong king" and having received Hittite messengers. The Hittite documents, on the other hand, refer to the Syrian chieftain as having submitted to Šuppiluliuma. When, however, the Amarna letters reflect the Amorite's attempted reconciliation to Egypt by diplomatic overtures and oaths of fealty, the Hittite texts bristle with references to Aziru's rebellion against his overlord Šuppiluliuma (PD, No. 5, lines 2-7; KBo, X, 13, III:4-5). This dovetailing of the sources makes it nearly certain that Aziru compromised his relationship with Egypt in the immediate wake of Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" invasion. Nevertheless, at the same time, the shifty Amorite tried to ward off Egypt's wrath by attempting to maintain his traditional status as a "true" vassal of Pharaoh. As further events show, in playing the game on both sides of the political fence, Aziru was not to come out of the experience completely unscathed.

Aziru in Egypt. Matters came to a head in the late Amarna years when the city-state of Byblos experienced a coup d'état. Ilirabiḫ, the younger brother of Rib-Haddi (who in turn was Pharaoh's appointed regent of Byblos), expelled Rib-Haddi from his own city and extended recognition to Aziru as that city's suzerain (EA 162:9-11; 136:8-12, 33-35; 137: 16-19, 24-25; 138:59-70). In reconstructing what happened, it seems likely that Akhenaten's anger was aroused against Aziru by a personal report of the situation which he received from Api, a son of the exiled and thoroughly incensed Rib-Haddi (EA 137:78-80; cf. 138:103-109). Pharaoh reacted by dispatching a stinging missive (EA 162) to the troublesome Amorite, warning the latter of the dire consequences of his rebellious course (lines 35-39). More than a year had passed since Pharaoh had first summoned Aziru to the court to explain his actions (lines 42-43; cf. EA 158:23-28; 160:24-28). Now the aroused Akhenaten ordered his regent Aziru to acknowledge his summons and to appear immediately at the court (lines 48-51).

It is not without interest that Aziru's banishment from Syria came on the very eve of Šuppiluliuma's second ^{c}Amqi attack (EA 140). Since this event occurred at the same time that an Egyptian military expedition is to be found unsuccessfully attempting to inflict punishment upon Aitagama, it would seem that Aziru's banishment was forcibly brought about by the same Egyptian field operation. Though details are lacking over just what did take place, there is a reference to Aziru being turned over to the Egyptians in exchange for gold (EA 169:19-23).

The Amarna evidence touching on Aziru's banishment to the court of Pharaoh indicates that the chieftain's brothers, Ba^{c}aluya and Batti-Ilu, established a caretaker regime in Amurru and were concerned over whether or not Aziru would be released by the court (EA 170, 169). An Ugaritic text (RS 19.68) implies that Aziru's absence from Syria was of such a serious nature that for a while Ba^{c}aluya was recognized as the official leader of Amurru. A Hittite version of the Aziru-Šuppiluliuma treaty, recovered from Ḫattuša, coincides with the Amarna sources in agreeing that Aziru was retained in Egypt during the second ^{c}Amqi attack (KBo, X, 13, I:16-19).

Aziru's loyalty toward Ḫatti. Banished from Syria in the year of Akhenaten's death, Aziru may have been released from Egyptian captivity at the time of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's accession to the throne. Such, at least, is the sequence of events proposed by the present study--a sequence based on several factors, the primary one being an acceptance of a chronological reconstruction which posits Akhenaten's death six years prior to Šuppiluliuma's own demise (a conclusion set forth in Chapter Three). Thus the fact that Aziru can be shown to have returned to Syria during Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war (cf. KBo, X, 13, I: 16-19) would mean, in terms of the present study, that this return took place during the early reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn.

The accession of Tut^{c}ankhamūn furnishes an appropriate occasion for the Amorite's release. The advent of that Pharaoh's reign was looked upon by Egypt's powerful priesthood as a reestablishment of the country's traditional order (ma^{c}at) which they felt had been abused during the preceding "heretical" reign of Akhenaten (cf. Tut^{c}ankhamūn's "Restoration Stela"). It may thus have been that in the festive ceremonies which marked Tut^{c}ankhamūn's coronation, an ancient custom was invoked which granted amnesty toward political prisoners.

The Amarna correspondence of Aziru presents the troublesome chieftain as having dwelt in Tunip during the latter years of Akhenaten's reign. Aziru's subsequent detention in Egypt, however, presumably allowed his capital city Tunip to break away from Amurru. EA 59 seems to have been authored after such a break had occurred. Composed by Tunip's citizens, the letter carries the strong implication that while their lord was held in Egypt, Tunip had switched its allegiance from Aziru to an (exiled?) prince of Niʾi(?). In the letter Aziru is pictured as on his way to Ḫatti (after being released from Egypt?) where he would seek both suzerainty over Tunip and (military?) assistance in wreaking vengeance on Niʾi and Tunip! Given this turn of events, EA 59 is possibly of value in a discussion of when Aziru returned to Syria in relationship to Egyptian history.

The Hittite version of the Aziru-Šuppiluliuma treaty speaks of the Amorite as coming from the "door of the land of Egypt" to fall at the feet of the famed Hittite conqueror. After his release from Egypt, it seems that Aziru journeyed northward to Šuppiluliuma's headquarters (in Ḫatti as EA 59 implies?) where he formally pledged his continued loyalty to the conqueror. The occasion was commemorated by the ratification of a suzerainty treaty. Hittite sources (*PD*, No. 5; *KBo*, X, 13) agree that this treaty marked the end of a period characterized by Aziru's disloyalty toward Šuppiluliuma.

The permanent severance of Amurru from the status of being a vassal of Egypt to that of being in complete subjugation to Ḫatti was coupled with Amurru's political realignment with those neighbors, such as Ugarit, who had already cast in their lot with the Hittites (RS 19.68). When, during Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war, the kings of Nuḫašše and the kings of Qadeš (in opposition to their direct overlord Aitagama?) revolted against the conqueror, Aziru remained loyal to his treaty. During this time the Amorite even rendered military assistance to the Hittite cause.

By now the turning point between the great powers had been reached. Egypt's hegemony over Syria, which had been faltering during Akhenaten's final years, irreparably crumbled into ruin in the reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn. Henceforth Egypt was doomed to decline from her golden days as mistress of the East. For the remainder of the Bronze Age, the Hittites would hold the spoils of Syria.

CHAPTER V

AMURRU: BORDERLAND BETWEEN EMPIRES

Aziru in the Amarna Correspondence

Aziru: heir of Abdi-Aširta. It was during the Amarna years that Rib-Haddi was apt to recall nostalgically an earlier era when Amenhotep III had arrived in force at Ṣidon (EA 85:69-73) to inspect "the lands and his regents" (EA 116:61-63) and to deal with such troublesome kinglets as Amurru's Abdi-Aširta (EA 108:28-33; 117:27-33; 132:10-18; 362:9-20).[1] Since Rib-Haddi's references to Amurru's political humiliation are all in retrospect, dated to the days prior to Akhenaten,[2] there exists reason to surmise that Abdi-Aširta's early insurgence, which ignominiously ended by his being escorted to the presence of Amenhotep III, occurred prior to the period of the Amarna letters, possibly some twenty years previously.[3] During the Amarna years themselves, however, Abdi-Aširta had once more become a menace to the neighboring regents faithful to Egypt. He had secured an alliance with a "renegade" movement called the SA.GAZ (cf. Appendix IV) and had thereby become numbered among the powerful and the important (EA 71:16:22). The impression given by the letters from Byblos is that Abdi-Aširta had steadily gained control of the towns rightfully belonging to Rib-Haddi.

Abdi-Aširta's political course was characterized by conspiracy and assassination. Initially, the treacherous Amorite secured the coastal towns of Šigata, ᶜArqata, Ambi, and Ardata. The letters from Rib-Haddi reporting these successes (EA 74, 75, and 76) are effectively dated to Šuppiluliuma's first Syrian invasion by the accompanying news that the king of Ḫatti had overcome the lands belonging to the king of Mitanni (EA 75:35-39). The assassination of "Ad[una king of] ᶜArqata" heralded in EA 75 (lines 25-26) is recalled years later in retrospect as having been instigated by Aziru (EA 140:10). This item of information indicates that already Aziru was a prominent leader while his father was still the recognized king of Amurru.

Matters soon reached crisis proportions. The further loss by Rib-Haddi of the town Bit-Arqa, shortly followed by the assassination attempt on his life while he was visiting his own satellite town of Batruna[4] caused the prince of Byblos to dispatch to the Egyptian court urgent pleas for military assistance (EA 78-83). The extent of the crisis is summed up by Rib-Haddi's plaintive appeal: "(Abdi-Aširta) has taken all my cities. Byblos alone (ēdēnu) is left to me" (EA 91:20-22).[5] Two events were to highlight this high-water mark in Abdi-Aširta's career. The first (the fall of Ṣumur to Abdi-Aširta) is tied to certain military activities of Egypt and the second (Tušratta's armed intervention into Syria) clarifies the dating within the Amarna years in which Abdi-Aširta's political star fades from view.

To Rib-Haddi the handwriting on the wall was the loss of the port city of Ṣumur to Abdi-Aširta. Looking back upon that event years later, the prince of Byblos recalled the event which nearly terminated his own career. "When Abdi-Aširta seized Ṣumur, I guarded the city by my (own) hand. (At that time) there was no (Egyptian) garrison with me, but I wrote to the king, my lord. Then soldiers were sent forth and they took Ṣumur . . ." (EA 138:28-33). The reason the status of Ṣumur was so important seems to have been that that port city was an Egyptian administrative center where money and certain other supplies were administered to the vassals in what is now the northern Lebanese and Syrian coastal plain (cf. EA 84:15; 85:36-37).[6] In addition, it was the seat of the Egyptian rabiṣ who was in charge of appointing (or confirming in hereditary office) the various kinglets of that region in their respective position as regent (ḫazānnu).[7] Thus, whoever gained Ṣumur for a satellite would gain some measure of influence on Egyptian administrative policy.[8] The change of Ṣumur's position from that of being a satellite of Byblos to that of becoming a satellite of Amurru meant a political coup for Abdi-Aširta and a potential death knell for Rib-Haddi who would now be severed from the one man who possessed the political "connections" to save him, namely the rabiṣ of Ṣumur.

The repercussions of Ṣumur's change in status, indicating the magnitude of the event, are illustrated by the letters from that period. Rib-Haddi expressed his utter dismay at what had happened: "Do the acts of Abdi-Aširta, (this) dog, please the king, my lord . . .? . . . . Behold, now, Ṣumur, the rabiṣ-seat (tarbaṣ) and bedroom of my lord, (even it) has sided with him and (now) he sleeps in my (own) bedroom" (EA 84:6-14; cf. 85:36-37; 71:10-16). Abdi-Aširta, whose power had become so great that he was even able to instigate a coup d'état at Tyre,[9] was evidently asked to explain his "acts" to Pharaoh. Such a deduction is gathered from Abdi-Aširta's defensive attitude concerning Ṣumur. In a letter addressed to Pharaoh (EA 60), the Amorite went out of his way to declare that he was guarding "the harvesting of the grain of Ṣumur" (lines 26-29).[10] In his extant missive to Paḫamnata, the rabiṣ of Ṣumur,[11] Abdi-Aširta is found elaborating in apologetic terms that the reason he took over Ṣumur was to defend and to fortify (banū)[12] that city, especially as the citadel no longer possessed an Egyptian garrison (EA 62).

The fall of Ṣumur to Abdi-Aširta had hardly occurred when the "Mitannian counterattack" commenced. While Tušratta flaunted his military power in an attempt to reestablish an influence over Syria, both Rib-Haddi and Abdi-Aširta were involved in the correspondence dealing with the changed status of Ṣumur. Interestingly, both regents refer to Tušratta's militant moves only in asides from a discussion centered around Ṣumur (EA 60 and 85).[13] Apparently neither suspected that the course of the war between Ḫatti and Mitanni was a far more crucial event for consideration.

Abdi-Aširta's success in isolating Byblos was not to be marked by further triumphs. Indeed, any further victory would have rendered Rib-Haddi's position in Byblos as untenable. The Amarna correspondence reflects what was undoubtedly an abrupt dissolution of Abdi-Aširta's realm. From a pinnacle verging on a complete domination of the Phoenician coast, Abdi-Aširta became faced with severe reverses. Political retreat began when Tušratta directly challenged the Amorite's power (EA 60:10-17; 95:27-31). This was shortly followed by the arrival of an Egyptian garrison into Ṣumur. While turning out to be a temporary occupation, such a northern deployment of Egyptian troops did result in the reestablishment of Ṣumur as a satellite of Byblos (cf. the retrospect assessment by Rib-Haddi in EA 138:28-33). The Egyptian military position along the Syrian coast was at the same time increased by the appearance of a seaborne force (mišē). The presence of this marine force in the neighborhood of Amurru is referred to in the very report of Abdi-Aširta's assassination (EA 101:5-6).[14] The strengthening of Egypt's northern defense posture was simultaneously coupled with diplomatic overtures to Mitanni (EA 101:9-10). The impression gained from this observable acceleration of military and diplomatic activity is that both Mitanni and Egypt were reacting to defend their Syrian interests. The fear shared by the two great powers was, of course, the potential threat posed by the Hittite army. As already seen, Tušratta had declared war against Šuppiluliuma (PD, No. 1, obv. 1-5). Egypt, alarmed at the deteriorating international situation, would naturally take appropriate measures to safeguard her northern interests.[15] Caught in the resultant power play of the great empires, Abdi-Aširta's fate is probably to be associated with the rapid loss of his territorial holdings and the concomitant loss of his prestige.[16]

The Hittites in central Syria. Aziru of Amurru and Aitagama of Qadeš were the betrayers par excellence of Egyptian interest in central Syria. Pharaoh considered them to be his vassals, yet they consistently sought to undermine Egyptian suzerainty throughout Syria. Significantly, while Rib-Haddi of Byblos wrote per longum et latum about his grievances against the troublesome Amorite chieftains Abdi-Aširta and Aziru, it is only well within the Amarna period that he linked the treacherous course of Aziru with the rising Hittite power from Asia Minor. In his letter 126, written near the end of his career (lines 36-38, 46) in which he reported that the Hittite troops were "scorching the land with fire" (lines 51-52), Rib-Haddi warned Pharaoh that the Egyptian gold and silver rendered to Amurru (presumably to bolster that kingdom as an ally of Egypt) had been turned over by the sons of Abdi-Aširta "to the strong king, therefore, they are strong" (lines 63-66). The "strong king" (*šarri dānni*)[17] in Syria in the late Amarna years could have been none other than Šuppiluliuma himself; it was he who permitted Aziru and his brother Ba^{c}aluya to act with impunity.

It is the brief communications from the ^{c}Amqi region and the cities of Qaṭna and Tyre, however, which reveal the true extent to which both Aziru and Aitagama were emboldened by the political turn of events which found Syria not yet completely controlled by Šuppiluliuma and at the same time less attached to Egyptian control. The village chieftains of ^{c}Amqi wrote directly to Akhenaten for succor (letters 174-176, 363). They warned their suzerain of the encroaching nearness of Hittite aggression and the activities of the pro-Hittite king of Qadeš against unspecified neighboring cities. No extant Amarna letters from ^{c}Amqi to Pharaoh report Šuppiluliuma's first contact with Lebanon during his "great Syrian" campaign (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 40-47). But now, in the late Amarna years, the renewed arrival of Hittite armies into central Syria posed an even more serious military threat. The leading dynast in the Upe district, of which ^{c}Amqi seemingly formed a part,[18] was Ariwanaḫi. But he and his entourage of "great men" had been deported to Ḫatti (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 44-45). The resultant political vacuum undoubtedly contributed to the tone of urgency in ^{c}Amqi's appeal for military aid. Biryawaza, Egypt's appointed commissioner over Ariwanaḫi's realm (Upe), was theoretically the official to whom under normal circumstances the

^{c}Amqi leaders should have turned in their hour of need. Not only had the "great Syrian" campaign catapulted him to prominence as the only remaining authority over the region covered by the Damascene and the Biqā^{c} Valley, but his embassy was conveniently located nearby, in the town of Kumedi (modern Kamīd el Lōz), just to the south of ^{c}Amqi.[19] Biryawaza, however, was notoriously ineffectual in preserving Egyptian interests (EA 7:75).

Just how threatening Aitagama's activities were to the ^{c}Amqi region can be gathered from the contemporary records. Qadeš, just to the north, virtually controlled the entrance to the Biqā^{c} Valley. That city also served as the boundary line, the southern limits, to the sphere of influence which Šuppiluliuma had carved out for Hittite hegemony in Syria.[20] Aitagama, as a newly appointed Hittite vassal, may have at first confined himself to subduing his immediate neighbors within the Hittite sphere of interests. This is borne out by the letters from Akizzi of Qaṭna (directly to the north of Qadeš) who pled for Egyptian assistance against Aitagama and the king of Ḫatti who were endangering his city (EA 53:8-15). Meanwhile, however, Aitagama had allied himself with a certain Taššu (variant: Daša) and with Arzawiya of Ruḫizzi in ^{c}Amqi. In this manner the king of Qadeš could indirectly menace the small hamlets of the Biqā^{c} Valley (EA 53:56-62; 56:16-17). Aziru apparently joined in this perfidious action, becoming with Aitagama a co-sponsor of the neighboring kings of Ruḫizzi and Lapana in various "unlawful" activities endangering the whole district of Upe. These latter rulers on the very borderline between Canaan and Syria[21] were possibly the marauders whom Burnaburiaš II of Babylonia mentions as plundering his caravans. The Babylonian king blamed Biryawaza for the thievery as the latter was, of course, the official in charge of the region where the robbery took place (EA 7:75).[22] Biryawaza himself, however, did not escape such onslaughts, for Aziru and Aitagama went so far as to sack his "house" (EA 53:27-29; 151:59-63). This bold attack can only be interpreted as being arrogantly aimed at the Egyptian administration in the district. The plundering of the "house of Biryawaza" (i.e., Biryawaza's "administrative" estate) was a special insult and outrage against Egyptian suzerainty.

Ugarit, in the age of its king Niqmaddu II, was regarded as the wealthiest seaport of the eastern Mediterranean littoral (EA 89:48-53). Niqmaddu's surrender of the city to the Hittites without even a battle must have been particularly galling to Egypt's foreign office.[23] In a text (EA 151) belonging among the latest of the Amarna archives,[24] Abimilki of Tyre transmitted to Akhenaten news that the Tyrian prince had heard from Canaan. It was in answer to Akhenaten's query for specific intelligence (lines 50-51). Pharaoh possibly may have inquired about Ugarit, for Abimilki makes a point of including news about that city in his reply. The report of the Tyrian prince progresses from north to south, covering the four kingdoms of Danuna, Ugarit, Qadeš, and Amurru (EA 151:52-63):[25]

> The king of Danuna is dead and his brother has become king after him, and his land is peaceful. Fire has consumed Ugarit, the house of the king, it consumed half of it but did not consume the other half nor the Hittite troops. Aitagama the prince of Qadeš and Aziru are fighting against Biryawaza.

Here in summary is a rare contemporary assessment of what was thought to have been significant political developments toward the close of the Amarna Age. The country of Danuna, the present Turkish Hatay, had passed through a governmental change in which the king's brother rather than a crown prince had seized the throne.[26] The news from Ugarit was of a more vital nature. Though Ugarit had been partially destroyed by fire, the flames were not destructive enough to rid the area of the presence of Hittite troops![27] Abimilki's reference to the treachery of Aziru and Aitagama against Biryawaza confirmed the news possibly already received by the Egyptian court from Akizzi of Qaṭna (EA 53:27-34). In complementary agreement with the correspondence from ᶜAmqi and Qaṭna, Abimilki pictures central Syria as fearful of Hittite troops and troubled by Amurru and Qadeš, the two focal points of insurgence.

Zita, the son of Šuppiluliuma,[28] also wrote to the Egyptian court. His letter (EA 44) is revealing. Diplomatic relations between Ḫatti and Egypt, as found in his missive, appear to have been courteously maintained and have yet to reflect the friction that later flared between the two great powers at the time of Šuppiluliuma's siege of Kargamiš. The letter serves as an indication of the extent of direct control which the Hittites had gained in the region south of Anatolia. Šuppiluliuma's penchant for appointing his sons in command over certain of the more choice conquered realms (as his later appointment of Piyaššili over Kargamiš and Telipinu over Ḫalba [*KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 16-25]), lends weight to speculation that Zita may have been in charge of a district somewhere in the vicinity of the yet unconquered Kargamiš. At least that is where he is next seen just prior to Kargamiš' fall (Šuppiluliuma's annals, fragment 28; cf. EA 170:19-21).[29] Zita's "letter implies that he is somewhere between Egypt and the land of his father, to whom he forwards Egypt's messengers together with his own (lines 20-22)."[30]

The central Syrian letters from the late Amarna years speak of Egypt's northern tier of vassal states as either inundated (as in the case of Ugarit) or confronted by Hittite might (as that of Qaṭna, the villages of ᶜAmqi, and other unspecified Syrian towns). It is a picture consistent with that presented by the Zita correspondence. The political development portrayed hardly can be surprising in view of the historical situation explored in Chapter Three. There it was learned that it was in about Akhenaten's thirteenth year that the Hittite conqueror had swept down from the north in his overwhelmingly successful year-long campaign throughout Syria (PD, No. 1, obv. 17-47).[31] It was perhaps sometime within Akhenaten's last years (his sixteenth or more probably his seventeenth) that Šuppiluliuma directed his forces to incorporate the Syrian states more firmly within his empire. Having become the dominant power in the region, Šuppiluliuma logically would desire that his troops in Syria should consolidate his previous gains. It was during this period that real friction flared between Ḫatti and Egypt. Within the last month of Akhenaten's reign, Šuppiluliuma descended from Anatolia to the Kargamiš region, initiating his six-year Syrian war (KUB, XIX, 9; Šuppiluliuma's annals, fragment 28).[32] The reason for the monarch's personal presence in Syria was clearly the continued hostile activity of the local population and the refusal of the city of Kargamiš to surrender.[33] At the same moment Akhenaten took military action against Šuppiluliuma's ally, the prince of Qadeš. The attack, aimed at toppling Aitagama from power, was a failure.[34] Nevertheless, Šuppiluliuma countered by angrily ordering his second attack against ᶜAmqi (the "Plague Prayers" of Muršili; Šuppiluliuma's annals, fragment 28).[35]

The historical synthesis which sees both the Egyptian attack against Qadeš and Šuppiluliuma's second raid against Egypt's borderland as having occurred at the time of Akhenaten's death has been argued in Chapter Three. As a chronological thesis it will now again receive scrutiny in light of Aziru's career. It was at the moment of Akhenaten's anticipated vengeance against Qadeš that Aziru, Aitagama's companion in perfidy, is lost sight of in the sources. Possibly, as will now be explored, the same Egyptian contingency of troops that marched against Qadeš may have forced Aziru's temporary removal from Syria.[36]

However Amarna Age history ultimately may be interpreted, Aziru is seen as an extremely important figure. The Amorite's capture by the Egyptians, as will be observed, and his subsequent release, marked a turning point in Syrian history: the point in which Ḫatti gained its final ascendancy over Egypt's Syrian territories. It was a period in which Aziru as an Egyptian vassal departed from traditional political affiliations to come under subjugation to Šuppiluliuma. Aziru's political gravitation toward Ḫatti serves as an outstanding example of the power shift which took place throughout Syria. Aziru's career, therefore, transcends that of a personal biographical sketch to encompass historical and chronological significance for the whole of the Amarna period.

Aziru's rebellion. In the historical prologue to the Duppi-Tešub treaty between Aziru's grandson Duppi-Tešub and Muršili II of Ḫatti (PD, No. 5), the following outline of events is given concerning Aziru's relations toward Šuppiluliuma:[37]

> Aziras was the grandfather of you, Duppi-Tessub. He rebelled against my father, but submitted again to my father. When the

> kings of Nuhassi land and the kings of Kinza rebelled against my father, Aziras did not rebel. As he was bound by treaty, he remained bound by treaty. As my father fought against his enemies, in the same manner fought Aziras.

Thus it is learned that Aziru had rebelled against Šuppiluliuma, but had subsequently submitted again to the conqueror. The next test of loyalty came when the kings of Nuḫašše and the kings of Qadeš revolted. Aziru, however, remained loyal to Šuppiluliuma, thereafter becoming a firm ally of the Hittites.

Fortunately, there is enough material available from the sources to relate this outline of events to the history of the Amarna Age. Tantamount to ascertaining when Aziru submitted only to rebel against Šuppiluliuma is to learn the converse effect of Aziru's relationship with Egypt. While Aziru may be seen in the Amarna letters as a renegade vassal in his servitude toward Egypt, an alliance with a foreign power such as Ḫatti effectively would have severed Amurru's ties with its suzerain and would have automatically marked that Syrian state as subject to severe Egyptian reprisals.[38] The question is thus posed as to when Aziru submitted to Šuppiluliuma (thereby antagonizing Egypt), only to rebel against Ḫatti (in an assumed renewal of relations with Pharaoh)? With the answering of this question hangs the historical placement of the other events given in the outline of Aziru's early relationship to Šuppiluliuma.

It is of more than considerable interest that Aziru's letters to the Egyptian court find him on the defensive concerning his loyalty toward Egypt. Of particular importance, EA 171 is to be regarded as Aziru's first letter to Pharaoh; as the whole purpose of the missive was directed at reobtaining Amurru's place as a rightful vassal of Egypt.[39]

The letter ends in a refrain, variations of which were to become a characteristic hallmark of Aziru's later missives to the court: "I will not rebel against the words [of my lord] and against the servant of the sungod, the king my lord" (lines 34-37).[40] The servant of Pharaoh to whom the Amorite chieftain sought to demonstrate his loyalty in this written oath was Yanḫamu. It was in vexation over Yanḫamu's belligerent attitude that Aziru wrote: "I would enter into the status of servitude (ardūti) to the king, the sungod, my lord; but Yanḫamu permits me not" (lines 12-13).[41] Yanḫamu, the Egyptian governor in Yarimuta (probably modern Kokab el-Hawā),[42] a native administrator in charge of the royal grain-lands of Jezreel (EA 86:15, 22), and Pharaoh's personal deputy over the kings of Canaan,[43] withheld from Amurru those privileges usually accorded a vassal by its suzerain. Yanḫamu had not only refused politically to recognize Aziru, but had also insulted the Amorite by refusing to accept his envoys (LÚ.MEŠ mar šiprī), EA 171:6-11.[44] Aziru had no recourse, if he would stay in favor with the Egyptian court, but to plead his cause directly with Pharaoh himself.

Why was Yanḫamu so decidedly cool toward the diplomatic advances from Amurru? Was it not dictated by Aziru's unfaithfulness? And what could be more disloyal than a flirtation on Aziru's part toward Šuppiluliuma! Aziru's disloyalty toward Egypt as reflected in EA 171 cannot be equated with the Amorite's later perfidious activities at the time of the renewed arrival of Hittite armies into central Syria. The data from the Amarna materials strongly militate against such a placement so late in the Amarna period. Significantly, EA 171 is the only letter of the Aziru correspondence (EA 156-161; 164-168) to mention Yanḫamu.[45] As Yanḫamu retired from the political scene sometime prior to Rib-Haddi's flight to Beruta (EA 132:29-30; 127:23-24; 106:35-39),[46] any mention of the powerful Egyptian agent in Syro-Palestine must of necessity predate the era when Ilirabiḫ had succeeded Rib-Haddi as ruler over Byblos (his letters 139-140). As a chronological corollary to this conclusion is the fact that no mention of Yanḫamu's name occurs in any of the late Amarna letters, such as the Abimilki correspondence or the letters assigned to Abimilki's contemporaries: the letters from Akizzi, the ^{c}Amqi region, ^{c}Amminura, Biryawaza, or the later letters from Aziru.[47] Yanḫamu's refusal to allow Aziru to be recognized as a privileged vassal of Egypt thus is difficult to separate from the year-long "great Syrian" campaign; at which time Aziru most probably made some sort of accommodation to overtures by a threatening Šuppiluliuma whose forces were posed along the very borders of Amurru.[48]

It must be emphasized at this point that Aziru's disloyalty toward Egypt was just that--disloyalty and not complete severance. However Aziru compromised his political stance toward Egypt, he did not initiate a complete break with his traditional suzerain. Aziru's formal accord with Šuppiluliuma was not ratified until after the Amorite had returned from a stay in Egypt (KBo, X, 13, I:18-19, 23-24).[49] Aziru's disloyalty as deduced from Yanḫamu's anger most probably can be construed as consisting of receiving messengers (EA 161:48-49) and possibly sending messengers (with tribute?) to the Hittites. He even may have extended recognition to Šuppiluliuma's claim over the Egyptian vassal states in Syria (such as Ugarit, Nuḫašše, and Qadeš). As it is understood from the Amarna correspondence and from the Hittite feudal treaties that "the vassal sent his messengers only to the ruler he depended on, and was not allowed to send them to other states nor receive their messengers,"[50] any such act on the part of Aziru was directly at variance with the rules of international protocol. It is characteristic of the opportunistic Amorite chieftain to have "bought off" Šuppiluliuma's threatening encroachments, only to reaffirm a nominal (and advantageous) loyalty toward Egypt as soon as the bulk of the Hittite armies withdrew themselves from the lands contiguous to Amurru. The Amorite could not escape, however, the ire of Yanḫamu nor the accusation that he had paid good Egyptian gold and silver to the "strong king" (EA 126:63-64).

Aziru in Egypt

Pharaoh summons Aziru. Aziru submitted to Šuppiluliuma, but he also rebelled (PD, No. 5, lines 2-4). The Amarna materials bearing on the Amorite's initial submission (EA 171:3-6, 12-13, 34-37; 126:63-66) indicate that it did not entail the establishment of formal treaty ties between Ḫatti and Amurru.[51] It is a conclusion consistent with the sources from Boghazkoy which reveal (1) that Šuppiluliuma did not, during the course of his "great Syrian" campaign, extend Hittite suzerainty over Amurru (KUB, XIX, 9),[52] but (2) did establish diplomatic relationship between the two countries at a point in time prior to the ratification of a formal treaty (KBo, X, 13).[53]

Assigned to the period of immediate proximity to Šuppiluliuma's successful Syrian invasion, possibly just prior to that event, is the brief letter (EA 98)[54] of Yapa-Haddi, regent of Tyre,[55] to Yanḫamu, who has not yet been retired from his important position as high rabiṣ. The missive concerns itself with the status of Ṣumur which has been made precarious by the fact that Aziru was blocking the shipment of grain to the city (lines 13-18). In the course of impressing upon the high commissioner the extent of the danger, the dramatic assertion is made: "Now all lands (follow) after Aziru (and) are hostile, from Byblos up to Ugarit. Even Šigati and Ambi are hostile . . ." (lines 4-12). Encompassing the "lands" (or city-states) between Byblos and Ugarit was, of course, the country of Amurru.[56] The city-states of Šigata and Ambi together with the other coastal ports between Byblos and Ugarit seem, therefore, to have been in the process of recognizing formally the overlordship of Aziru as the legal successor of the late Abdi-Aširta.[57] The whole process, however, is looked upon in Yapa-Haddi's report as a menace to Egyptian interest.

The crescendo of accusations and slander of this nature (compare the Rib-Haddi correspondence) which descended upon Aziru following the death of his father must have given the Egyptian court some uneasiness. It was an apprehension which quickly gave way to genuine alarm when news reached the Nile Valley that the Ḫurrian league had collapsed under the onslaughts of Šuppiluliuma. At this juncture Yanḫamu's anger erupted against Aziru for his complicity with the Hittites (EA 171). It was one thing for Egypt to countenance internal turmoil or strife among the vassal states, but it was quite a different matter, of more serious consequences, for a vassal to become embroiled with a foreign power![58] With the inrush of Hittite armies into Syria, Egypt could no longer enjoy the luxury of sitting on the sidelines while the northern reaches of her Empire vacillated in their obligations to the court.

Aziru's Amarna correspondence is to be viewed in light of the security measures which now emanated from the Egyptian foreign office.[59] The Amorite's letters, which are addressed either to Akhenaten (EA 171, 156-157, 159-161, 165, 168) or to Akhenaten's high officials at the foreign office (EA 158, 164, 166-167)[60]--taken together with a missive sent to Aziru by Pharaoh himself (EA 162)--reveal a serious impasse which had arisen between Egypt and Amurru. Four topics are of particular significance in the letters which ensued. They are topics involving the maintenance of Egypt's security within Amurru and are here listed with explanatory comments.

1. *The "oath of fealty"*. A kinglet whose position *vis-à-vis* Pharaoh was in jeopardy, either because he faced an impending invasion by an advancing Egyptian army or because he was an offending vassal, could continue to live in peace only if he gave his oath that he would be loyal to Pharaoh.[61] It therefore is not without interest that Aziru's letters to the court are liberally "strewn" with sworn oaths of fealty (EA 171:34-37; 158:33-35; 164:14-17; 166:17-20; 167:5-7). The overriding issue of the whole corpus of letters dealing with Aziru thus is clear: here is a vassal who had been disloyal and against whom Egypt had now begun to react.

2. *The rebuilding of the garrison-city Ṣumur*. To secure peace and assure permanent Egyptian domination of the Amurru district, Ṣumur had long been established as an Egyptian garrison-town. With no permanent garrison to be found there in the Amarna years, however, the fortifications must have been in poor condition (EA 112:50-56; 115:19-22). Abdi-Aširta had been ordered to rebuild Ṣumur's defenses (EA 62:14). Now Aziru also was ordered to rebuild the garrison-city. Opposed by the city-elders (*rabūtū*) of Ṣumur (EA 157:11-12) and fearful of a Hittite invasion (EA 157:11-12) Aziru procrastinated. Even when Ṣumur was well in his grasp as a satellite of Amurru, Aziru begged off

with the insistence that he could not leave his capital Tunip as his near neighbors, the kings of Nuḫašše, were hostile against him. However, he would obey Pharaoh within the year (EA 160:24-28).[62]

3. The sending of hostages to Egypt. In what is probably to be numbered among his early letters to the court (EA 156), Aziru is found sending two of his young sons to Egypt (lines 8-10). He evidently dared not hesitate to fulfill the time-honored custom of Egypt's imperial policy which exacted children from newly installed vassals. The custom insured the loyalty of the vassal state. If Aziru contemplated revolt, the children would be held as hostages. At the event of their father's death, one of them would be appointed, after having been groomed as an Egyptian subject, to fill his place.[63] On one occasion, the Amorite reminded the Egyptian court that the presence of his sons in Egypt insured his loyalty (EA 159:18-19).

4. Banishment from Syria. The punishment for a rebel was death for himself and for his family (EA 162:36-38; 367:20-21). Milder forms of punishment were also in vogue against chiefs whose loyalties were in doubt. In the latter case, the questionable chief would be kept prisoner in the court of Pharaoh (cf. EA 97:4-8). Aziru was to be threatened by both possibilities (EA 162:36-38, 48-54). At the time of Rib-Haddi's expulsion from Byblos, matters came to a head. In reconstructing what happened, it seems safe to believe that the arrival of Rib-Haddi's son at the court ignited the confrontation between Akhenaten and Aziru. Thoroughly aroused at the way his father had been treated, the prince presumably exposed Aziru's perfidy and pled for assistance (EA 137:78-80).[64]

What is next encountered is a heated letter (EA 162) in which Akhenaten charged the Amorite with duplicity in his treatment of Rib-Haddi. Aziru had claimed to be a faithful *ḫazānnu*, yet he was implicated in the ouster of his fellow *ḫazānnu*, Rib-Haddi, who had been made a fugitive by his own brother Ilirabiḫ (lines 2-21; cf. EA 137:14-25). Aziru was further charged with the sin of entering into a treaty (*šalmata*) with Aitagama of Qadeš, who by his faithlessness had become an enemy of the crown (lines 22-25; cf. EA 151:59-63; 53:27-29).[65] Because Aziru was not at "one" (*ēdu*) with the king, his Lord (line 29) he was ordered to come immediately to Egypt. If he should delay, then in his place his son should forthwith be sent to the court (lines 48-54)![66]

Amarna sources pertaining to Aziru in Egypt. The story of Aziru's career now takes on a wider dimension. The thesis of the present study contends that the year which experienced (1) an Egyptian counterattack against Qadeš, (2) the second ᶜAmqi attack, (3) the death of Pharaoh *Nibḫururiya*, and (4) the fall of Kargamiš, was a year which should be assigned toward the close of the Amarna period rather than to the later time of Tutᶜankhamūn's death. Can the vicissitudes which befell Aziru assist in bolstering the placement of that most momentous year?

If Aziru's banishment from Syria occurred late within Akhenaten's reign, then it may be concluded that the end of the Amarna period was marked by Akhenaten's interest in reestablishing his suzerainty over Syria. This would, of course, lend plausibility to the identification of the Egyptian king who ordered the punitive attack against Qadeš as having been the "heretical" Pharaoh. If, in addition, the circumstances of Aziru's banishment befell that Amorite at a time when both the Amarna sources and the Hittite materials contained references to a Hittite attack against ᶜAmqi, then the argument contended would be further enhanced. Again, both the literary materials from the Egyptian state archives and those from the Hittite capital overlap in reflecting the same event--the second violation of the "Kuruštama" treaty (cf. Appendix VI).

References pertaining to Aziru's summons to the Egyptian court significantly are found in those letters tied to the close of the Amarna era. Rib-Haddi already had been expelled from Byblos by the time Akhenaten heatedly had summoned the Amorite to appear in his Majesty's presence (EA 162:9-11, 48-49). The termination of Rib-Haddi's long tenure in office as prince of Byblos marks an event at the end of the Amarna Age--a conclusion supported by a comparison of that prince's sixty-four letters uncovered at Amarna with the two letters found to be authored by his successor.

The usurper who took charge of Byblos was, of course, Rib-Haddi's own brother, Ilirabiḫ (EA 137:57-58).[67] Learning that Aziru had been ordered to Egypt and possibly fearful of being implicated with the rebellious deeds of the wily Amorite (cf. EA 162:9-11), Ilirabiḫ wrote to the court (EA 140). The substance of the missive is that Pharaoh should not believe anything which Aziru should say! "Why has the king sent for Aziru when he does as he wishes? . . . . Behold, Aziru has committed a crime against us by his having had an audience with you" (lines 8-9, 20-24).[68]

The arrival of Aziru in Egypt roughly coincided not only with Rib-Haddi's flight from Byblos but also with Šuppiluliuma's second ᶜAmqi attack. Ilirabiḫ's letter alludes to the circumstances bordering on that event (EA 140:24-32).[69] The contents of EA 170, which give a report on the second ^{c}Amqi attack (lines 14-16),[70] show that Amurru then was not under the leadership of Aziru, but rather under a caretaker regime led by Ba^{c}aluya (with the assistance of his brother Batti-Ilu).[71] EA 169, again authored by this same caretaker regime at Amurru, passes on to the Egyptian foreign office the taunt which they received from the kings of Nuḫašše: "You sold your father (*i.e.*, your chief) to the king of Egypt for gold--but who knows when he will send him out of Egypt?" (lines 19-23).[72]

The evidence gathered sets forth Aziru's removal to Egypt late in the Amarna years. Seemingly it was a forced removal; Aziru had been turned over to the Egyptian government by his brothers[73] in exchange for gold. Since Amurru's caretaker regime sought the Amorite's release (EA 169:12-13), it is safe to say that Aziru was forcibly detained at the court of Pharaoh. The renegade Amorite finally had been dealt with by Egypt.

Ugaritic sources pertaining to Aziru in Egypt. A cuneiform tablet from the royal archives of Ugarit blends with the story as reconstructed from the Amarna letters. The tablet in question (RS 19.68)[74] records a mutual security pact (a "sword agreement") between Aziru of Amurru and Niqmaddu II of Ugarit. According to the preamble of the treaty, difficulties commenced between the two countries in the days of Niqmepa of Amurru (the father of Abdi-Aširta?) and Ammištamru I of Ugarit. The controversy flared up again in the time of Ba^{c}aluya of Amurru and Niqmaddu II of Ugarit, finally reaching a settlement with the present signatories of the pact, Aziru and Niqmaddu (lines 1-9). What is of particular interest is the confirmatory evidence that Ba^{c}aluya was regent in Amurru during Aziru's absence. Thus the treaty supplies one more bit of evidence that Aziru's stay in Egypt was not simply a state visit. Aziru's status is that of a ruler who had (as it turned out) temporarily lost his position. In his stead, Ba^{c}aluya emerged as the effective ruler of Amurru.

The Ugaritic evidence suggests that Aziru was to return from his Egyptian confinement to resume leadership in his country. As the "sword agreement" indicates, Aziru was to mark the occasion of his homecoming by orienting his country's political course toward the Hittite Empire. For the Amorite chieftain to have ratified a covenant with Šuppiluliuma's vassal, Niqmaddu, meant, in effect, that he was repudiating Amurru's servitude toward Egypt. That this is what actually happened is revealed from the Boghazkoy sources.

The Boghazkoy sources pertaining to Aziru in Egypt. Besides the Duppi-Tešub treaty (*PD*, No. 5), the most important Boghazkoy source pertaining to Aziru's career is the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Aziru himself (best preserved in the Hittite version, *KBo*, X, 13).[75] It is a source which may be added to the other materials testifying to Aziru's banishment to Egypt. In the historical preamble to this treaty, it is learned that Šuppiluliuma "at one time" had been hostile with a number of North Syrian principalities, the last country listed being that of Kargamiš (I:14-17). This information is immediately followed by the words:

> And Aziru, king of Amurru, left the [bound]ary of the land of Egypt and he subjected himself to the Sun, the king of Ḫatti. . . . Aziru has fallen to the feet of the Sun, the Great King; he came from the

> door of the land of Egypt, and fell down at the feet of the Sun, the Great King . . . I bound Aziru to his brother (I:18-19, 23-26).

In spite of the disparity in origin of the Amarna, Ugaritic, and Hittite materials, there is no escaping the fact that Aziru had been retained in Egypt. Placing all the sources together it becomes evident that Aziru's banishment to Egypt took place at the end of Akhenaten's reign, and did not terminate until after Šuppiluliuma had conquered Kargamiš. What had been adduced solely from the Ugaritic evidence is now seen in clearer light. To wit, Aziru (along with his brother Ba^{c}aluya) did not fully cast in Amurru's lot with the Hittites until soon after Aziru's release from Egypt.

Aziru's release. How long did Aziru's Egyptian sojourn last? Keeping in mind that the Šuppiluliuma-Aziru treaty (*KBo*, X, 13), as just seen, was concluded after the capitulation of Kargamiš to Hittite suzerainty[76] and hence after *Nibḫururiya's* death,[77] Aziru's return to Syria must have occurred during the last six years of Šuppiluliuma's reign.[78] This much is certain. If the conclusion of Chapter Three is accepted, this means that in terms of Egyptian history, Aziru was released in the early years of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's reign. While there is no definitive evidence from Egypt itself pertaining directly to Aziru's release, there exists a propitious occasion, at the time of Akhenaten's demise, which may have opened the way for Aziru to return to his homeland. Coupled with this interesting possibility, the Amarna archives have yielded a letter which is possibly applicable to the events surrounding Aziru's departure from Egypt. It is concerning these two items that the present study now will direct itself.

Tut^{c}ankhamūn, being a mere lad on the eve of his coronation, probably could not celebrate his coronation in the usual style, in which a newly proclaimed pharaoh would display his hunting prowess (by such deeds as taming wild horses, baiting savage bulls, or drawing stiff bows).[79] It is therefore all the more likely that the Egyptian priesthood would emphasize Tut^{c}ankhamūn's reign as inaugurating the introduction of a new era. The precedent for such an emphasis was the custom, common to antiquity, of visualizing a new ruler as a reincarnation of the primeval ruler who originally created the nation.[80] It is true that such a custom signifying the re-creation of the state was not overly stressed in Egypt, as that land was immersed in a mythic philosophy which viewed the country as essentially static and unchanging. Successive pharaohs, according to state dogma, were actually the same person; the living god-king was always Horus, eternally the son of his dead father, Osiris.[81] However, the ascension of Tut^{c}ankhamūn to the throne was not a usual succession. The youthful boy-king was to replace a most unconventional, heretical pharaoh--Akhenaten--who was looked upon as having marred the religious continuity of the state.[82] To the priesthood of Egypt's high-god, Amūn, the arrival of Tut^{c}ankhamūn to power signified that Egypt was once again reembracing its traditional religious concepts which had suffered a serious eclipse by Akhenaten's religious upheaval.[83] The event may have been viewed as comparable--if but remotely--to the inauguration of the Egyptian "Middle Kingdom" which was heralded as a time of renaissance ("Repeating Births").[84]

In the ancient Near East such inaugural occasions, which emphasized the state's rebirth, were often marked by appropriate gestures that would symbolize the complete abolition of the era of the immediate past.[85] The old order had seen its youth pass to middle age, and now in its dotage customary laws and traditions were suspended as the former era passed into oblivion. The resultant period of license--in which the populace participated in turning the past into "pre-creation" chaos--was often highlighted by an amnesty which released prisoners.[86] Convicted under a regime that was now defunct, prisoners became free to join in celebrating the rejuvenation of the state which was viewed as revitalizing not only the nation but also the fertility of the earth itself![87]

The psychological flavor given to Tut^{c}ankhamūn's ascension, while possibly not identical in every aspect to the custom just described, is obtained from that monarch's "Restoration Stela." There the youthful ruler speaks about the advent of his reign as causing all the regions of Egypt to be in "jubilee" (*heb sed*).[88] As the Stela further describes it, there is "exultation throughout the [entire] land:--the good [*times*] have come!" The land had been in a state of being "topsy-turvy" (*seni-meni*), but Tut^{c}ankhamūn's reign had restored "order" (*ma^{c}at*) and had propitiated the angry gods.[89] A suggestion recently has been put forward that this occasion signaled the setting aside of religious differences and that "even many convicts [were] released from prison."[90] While lacking concrete evidence that such was the case, Tut^{c}ankhamūn's coronation with its festive mood of welcoming back the high god Amūn might have provided the occasion for the release of such political prisoners as Aziru. Does such a speculative hypothesis find any further justification?

Coming from the Amarna Age (which means a period antedating Tut^{c}ankhamūn's fourth regnal year),[91] EA 59 would be a very enigmatic letter indeed if there were not in existence a historic probability that by the time of its authorship Aziru had been released from Egypt, only to travel northward directly to Šuppiluliuma, as his Hittite treaty suggests (*KBo*, X, 13, I:18-19, 23-26), before taking up his residence again in Amurru. Pending a more careful look at the letter, the following historical conditions may be observed:

1. EA 59, sent to the Egyptian court by the citizens (*mārē*) of Tunip (line 2), presents Aziru as a powerful figure to be feared throughout Syria (lines 27-28, 34-37). At the moment of writing, Aziru was obviously well known to the Egyptian court (he is identified only by his name).

2. The troublesome chieftain had several times indicated in his correspondence to the court that his home was located in the city of Tunip (EA 161:12; 165:39-41; 166:26; 167:22-23). From that city Aziru probably exercised his sovereignty up to the very time of his departure for Egypt. Yet in EA 59 it is clear that the Amorite was not to be found dwelling in Tunip. Indeed, he was not in control of that city. Nevertheless, Aziru evidently did have a legal claim to Tunip--which was one of the reasons why the citizens of that Syrian town were so disturbed.

3. The letter unmistakably stresses the fact that Pharaoh had jeopardized the political situation at Tunip (which revolved around the question of who would rule the city) by having discounted the potential strength of Aziru (lines 19-28).

4. In their missive the citizens of Tunip leave the distinct impression that Aziru was on his way to the land of Ḫatti (line 23).

Looking a bit closer at the contents of this interesting document, it may be seen that it contains a plea to the Egyptian court. The citizens of Tunip were desirous of retaining as their suzerain one whom they identify as "the son of Aki(t)-Tešub" (lines 15-17).[92] Seemingly Pharaoh had already allowed them to be in vassalage to this kinglet (lines 18-19). But Pharaoh had upset the arrangement (lines 17-20).[93] As a result the question of who would rule the city-state of Tunip was endangered. "Behold Aziṛu may hear [the news about Aki(t)-Tešub's invited suzerainty over Tunip?] from your servant (or from) your gardener. Then in the land of Ḫatti, he will attain (from the Hittites) the kingship (NAM.LUGAL)."[94]

For the leading citizenry of Tunip, the outlook was black indeed. After picturing Aziru obtaining Hittite backing so as to assert his suzerainty over Tunip, the letter proceeds to warn the court what Aziru contemplated. He will descend upon Syria with troops and chariots (gotten from the Hittites?) and do to the citizenry of Tunip as he (also) will do to the inhabitants of Niʾi (lines 25-28)![95] But Tunip and Niʾi would not be the only places endangered. If Egypt failed to save her Syrian interests, the Amorite would also enter Pharaoh's rabiṣ-seat, Ṣumur. There "Aziru will do whatever he wishes in the (very) house of the king" (lines 34-37).

Particularly striking is the tone of the letter which comes very near to blaming Pharaoh (an unheard of rarity from mere citizens in vassalage to the crown) for upsetting the political status of Tunip (lines 19-20). The question of who would extend suzerainty over Tunip--the son of Aki(t)-Tešub (scion of the anti-Hittite Akit-Tešub of Niʾi?)[96] or Aziru--had somehow been forced upon the city by Pharaoh himself.

If Tut^{c}ankhamūn had released Aziru at a time when the chieftain's capital city, Tunip, had offered its kingship to a prince of Niʾi(?), the city fathers imaginably would be fearful and angry at Pharaoh for jeopardizing the city's safety. They would conceivably warn Pharaoh that Aziru would punish them; that he was fast becoming a Hittite ally who would overrun Egypt's Syrian territories. Certainly EA 59 cannot be placed at a time when Akhenaten was summoning Amurru's troublesome chieftain to Egypt, for Aziru was then living in Tunip. Neither can the letter be said to have been written at the very start of the Amorite's career, when the overriding threat to Syria was not the fledgling Aziru but Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign.[97] That Aziru would soon be in the land of Ḫatti, as the letter implies (line 23), can only be squared with the facts by assuming that EA 59 reflects Aziru's known pilgrimage to Šuppiluliuma after coming from the gates of Egypt. While the contents of EA 59 are not as specific as the historian would desire, they do offer elements of historical drama which may be pondered.

Aziru's Loyalty Toward Ḫatti

The Aziru-Šuppiluliuma treaty. The key to Aziru's history in relationship to the Hittites is found in the Amorite's own treaty of capitulation to Šuppiluliuma (*KBo*, X, 13). Hinting at a prior relationship, the treaty reads: "Since Aziru was loy[al(?)]...[and(?)] ca[me(?)] again into servitude to the Sun [....]" (III:4-5). At this point the fragmented sentence (in its extant state) abruptly breaks off. However, enough remains to complement what already has been reconstructed of Aziru's varied political life. The Duppi-Tešub treaty has been seen to present Aziru in a period of rebellion against Šuppiluliuma. A closer look at the text of that treaty reveals that this rebellious period was followed by events characterized by two later developments: (1) Aziru's loyalty toward Ḫatti, and (2) the fact that he was bound to the Hittites by treaty (PD, No. 5, lines 2-7).[98]

Thus the history of Aziru as portrayed in the Duppi-Tešub treaty may be measured against the Amorite's life as drawn from the contents of his own treaty. Both treaties place Aziru's lack of fidelity toward Šuppiluliuma as taking place before the chieftain bound himself to a formal accord with the conqueror.[99] It was only when Aziru "ca[me] again into servitude to the Sun" that his period of loyalty reflected in the Duppi-Tešub treaty began. The interpretation that the Amarna correspondence dealing with Aziru's precarious relationship to Egypt portrays the chieftain's infidelity toward the conqueror is confirmed. That period of disloyalty came to an end when the Amorite left the "door of the land of Egypt" at the very end of the Amarna years. It was only then that the Duppi-Tešub treaty speaks about a revolt against Hittite suzerainty carried out by the kings of Nuḫašše and the kings of Qadeš.[100]

The kings of Nuḫašše and the kings of Qadeš revolt. It was during Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war, when Aziru was loyal,[101] that the historian must look for the rebellion of the kings of Nuḫašše and the kings of Qadeš (PD, No. 5, lines 4-5). Other than the Duppi-Tešub treaty, however, no other sources clearly delineate this revolt. Nevertheless, a synthesis of the available data for this period makes it possible to reconstruct the personalities involved in this revolt and to confirm that such a rebellion did take place after the fall of

Kargamiš, when Aziru bound himself to Ḫatti.

It may be recalled (from Chapter Three) that following the assassination of the pro-Hittite Šarrupši (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 38), a new ruler of Nuḫašše, named Adad-nirari, led a brief defense of his country against Šuppiluliuma's victorious invasion into Syria (RS 17.340). Adad-nirari had appealed to Egypt for military assistance (EA 51), but receiving none, faded completely from the scene of action. In the definitive account of Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign, nothing is heard of that Syrian kinglet (*PD*, Nos. 1 and 2), but posterity is informed that during the course of this overwhelming invasion the famous conqueror did install Takib-šarri as satellite ruler over Nuḫašše (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 9).[102]

The anti-Hittite faction in Nuḫašše which had supported the violent overthrow of Šarrupši and the bitter fighting against Šuppiluliuma evidently was still hopeful of Egyptian assistance. Some three years later (EA 52:36) Akizzi of Qaṭna reported to Akhenaten that "the king of Nuḫašše," along with the king of Niʾi and other Syrian states, were leagued together (EA 53:41-44) in what was probably a conspiracy to overthrow the Hittite suzerainty which they shared in common. There is no reason not to believe that Takib-šarri was "the king of Nuḫašše" mentioned in Akizzi's letter. Nuḫašše's nationalistic faction had once more gained the upper hand.

The anti-Hittite conspiracy among certain middle Syrian states (referred to by Akizzi) broke out into open rebellion against Šuppiluliuma on the eve of his second ^{c}Amqi attack. A Hittite text specifically mentions Šuppiluliuma quelling Nuḫašše after the fall of Kargamiš

(*KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 6-25). The crucial passage in this text has been restored to read as follows:[103]

> He (Šuppiluliuma) sent forth and [vanquished al]l the Ḫurri-lands, he took [the land of Ḫalba (and) the land of] Kargamiš, [and] installed [Piyaššili as ki]ng [in the land of] Kargamiš. [Thereupon] he [in]stalled [T]elip[inus as king in the land of] Ḫalba. Then he went onward. [In the land of] Nuḫaš[še, he installed Tette as king]....

It is Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Nuḫašše's new ruler Tette (*PD*, No. 3) which makes the restoration of the final sentence possible. According to the historical preamble of the Tette-Šuppiluliuma treaty, it was not until sometime after the events of the "great Syrian" campaign (*PD*, No. 3, obv. 2-4) that Šuppiluliuma once more intervened in Syria to install Tette as the new ruler over a reduced Nuḫašše.[104] The fact that the Duppi-Tešub treaty mentions that it was "the kings" of Nuḫašše who revolted (*PD*, No. 5, line 4) is not significant. Nuḫašše was a political confederation consisting of several small countries. The king of Nuḫašše, who might abide at various places, was the suzerain of this confederation.[105] For all that is known, it may have been Takib-šarri who led the "kings of Nuḫašše" in their rebellion. Whoever it was who was ruling this middle Syrian confederation he was decisively defeated during the years immediately postdating the fall of Kargamiš, and replaced by the subservient Tette.

The kingdom of Qadeš, which may have comprised several villages and hamlets,[106] owed its great strategic and political importance to its commanding position at the northern end of the ^{c}Amqi plain that lies between the Lebanon and Antilebanon mountains. In the early decades of the century preceding the Amarna Age (down to cir. 1468 B.C.), Qadeš had been the seat of a leading Syrian dynast who held sway over an enormous confederacy which had political ties extending all the way from Mitanni in the north down to central Palestine in the south (the "Annals" of Thutmose III and the Gebel Barkal Stela).[107] By the eve of the Amarna Age, however, the continual attrition of Egyptian armed pressure had reduced Qadeš to only a minor role within the framework of Egypt's Asiatic empire. At one low point in time, possibly within the early Amarna period, that strategic city became subject to Ugaritic control (RS 20.16). During the course of Šuppiluliuma's successful Syrian invasion, Qadeš offered unexpected resistance to the Hittites (PD, No. 1, obv. 40). As a result the city was sacked and burned (fragment 27 of Šuppiluliuma's annals).

In the wake of Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign, Qadeš rose from the ruins of its desolation to command a leading position among the Syrian states held in vassalage by Ḫatti. Under the vigorous leadership of Aitagama, at least two minor kinglets to the south of his realm are known to have joined forces with Qadeš during the late Amarna years (EA 54:26-29). It is therefore not surprising that the Duppi-Tešub treaty also speaks of several "kings" of Qadeš who alongside the "kings" of Nuḫašše revolted against their Hittite overlord (PD, No. 5, lines 4-5) during Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war.

What is distracting at this historical juncture is that not only is there no other source (besides PD, No. 5) which refers to an anti-Hittite uprising by Aitagama (during Šuppiluliuma's lifetime),[108] but Aitagama himself is seen to retain his position as ruler of Qadeš from the time his city was first conquered by the Hittites until the ninth regnal year of Šuppiluliuma's successor, Muršili II![109] Seemingly, therefore, there is significance in the Duppi-Tešub treaty's employment of the plural word "kings" when speaking of the revolt by Qadeš during Šuppiluliuma's final years. Presumably Aitagama continued to remain loyal toward Ḫatti in spite of the conspiracy carried out by his underlings (kinglets) within the kingdom of Qadeš.

The arrival of a military force from Egypt, which attacked Qadeš at the start of Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war,[110] may have encouraged the kinglets comprising the kingdom of Qadeš to strike out for themselves at this sign of Egyptian resurgence of strength. In this connection it may be well to point out that the mere length of Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian conflict, which in the annals of that monarch (fragments 37-43)[111] is characterized by the constant mention of fighting, indicates that Šuppiluliuma had his hands full in trying to enthrone and maintain Mattiwaza as king of Mitanni. The lingering presence of an Egyptian military force in the vicinity of the ᶜAmqi region during these very years,[112] may have been a contributing factor (if but minor) to the upheavals which kept the Hittite monarch so busy.

Whatever the catalyst was that gave cause for an uprising by the kinglets of Qadeš (in which their immediate suzerain Aitagama did not take part?), they would not have made a bid for independence until they thought they had a chance for success. Presumably, that moment came when the kings of Nuḫašše revolted, following the fall of Kargamiš. Meanwhile Aziru was politically astute enough to remain loyal to Ḫatti. The Duppi-Tešub treaty recounts that the Amorite "remained bound by treaty. . . . Aziras remained loyal toward my father (Šuppiluliuma) and did not incite my father's anger" (PD, No. 5, lines 5-7).[113] The wily Amorite had more than typified an ancient taunt which had been cast against his homeland during the lifetime of his father, "Don't you know that the country of Amurru (always) joins the strong(er) side?" (EA 73:14-16).[114]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1] See Appendix III.

[2] The incident of Abdi-Aširta's capture referred to in EA 132: 10-18; 116:61-63, and possibly to be connected with the events of EA 85:69-73 (as argued in the present study--Appendix III) occurred in the time of Amenhotep III, at a point in time prior to the Amarna years. That incident is not to be confused with Rib-Haddi's review of events in his immediate past in EA 138:28-37, where the deposed ruler of Byblos assessed his present situation in exile at Beruta.

[3] See Appendix III.

[4] Batruna (modern Baṭrūn) lies on the coast just north of Byblos. The city is not to be read Beruna as is done by Knudtzon in his text (though corrected by O. Weber in the notes and E. Ebeling in the index).

[5] Cf. CAD, Vol. E, p. 27. By the time of EA 91 Bīt-Arqa and Ṣumur had cast in their lot with Abdi-Aširta. For the fall of Batruna, see EA 88:15-17.

[6] Ṣumur seems to have been the Egyptian administrative center for both the kingdoms of Byblos and Amurru. For the location of Amurru, see Appendix VIII.

[7] The ḫazānnu seems always to have been a native ruler, cf. CAD sub ḫazānnu.

[8] A history of Syria in the Amarna Age shows that Egypt was controlled by events, not vice versa. Whoever controlled Ṣumur could have an influence on the rabiṣ who dwelt there. In EA 59 Pharaoh is warned that if Aziru controlled Ṣumur, then he would be free to do as he pleases (lines 34-37).

[9] Rib-Haddi had given his sister in marriage to the prince of Tyre. However, an opposing faction of that city, in league with Abdi-Aširta, murdered the prince of Tyre together with Rib-Haddi's sister and their sons (EA 89:10-24; cf. W. F. Albright and William L. Moran, "Rib-Adda of Byblos and the Affairs of Tyre (EA 89)," JCS, 4 [1950], pp. 163-168). The usurper who now gained the kingdom of Tyre was probably Yapa-Haddi, protégé of Abdi-Aširta (but at odds with Aziru, cf. EA 98). Though nowhere in the Amarna correspondence is this usurper specifically identified as Yapa-Haddi, the present study is disposed toward such a conclusion in view of Rib-Haddi's hostility toward him (cf. EA 120 where Rib-Haddi lists the property stolen by Yapa-Haddi; cf. also EA 105:31-40; 116:25-33; 119:44-59). The loss of Tyre to a faction opposed to Rib-Haddi may have been the cause which placed Byblos in such dire straits as pictured in EA 85 and 86. Seemingly the grain for Byblos (from

Footnotes to Chapter V (2)

Yarimuta) was first landed at Tyre before being shipped to Byblos. Yapa-Haddi was therefore in a position to stop the grain shipments (cf. EA 118:13-26; 117:64-67; 77:14-15). See further the discussion by Albright, *JNES*, 5 (1946), p. 10, n. 4; Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, p. 92; Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, p. 21. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen*..., pp. 178 and 193, n. 29, believes that Yapa-Haddi was the king of Beruta!

[10] Cf. *CAD*, Vol. E, p. 340a.

[11] EA 62 pictures Paḫa(m)nata as the *rabiṣ* of Amurru who is seen to reside in Ṣumur. Paḫamnata and his son Haʾip were ardently hated by Rib-Haddi (EA 131:34-38). Haʾip was evidently in league with Yapa-Haddi and Abdi-Aširta (EA 117:64-67; 132:40-43).

[12] Abdi-Aširta was not merely "building" Ṣumur as a literal translation of *banû* (EA 62:14) would imply. Rather, he fortified the city against the hostility of the neighboring people of Šeḫlal (possibly modern Šellāla, to the east of Baṭrūn). Cf. fragment *371 which should be read in conjunction with EA 62; Cyrus H. Gordon, "The New Amarna Tablets," *Orientalia*, 16 (1947), pp. 6-11.

[13] Compare EA 60:13-17 which refer to the Mitannian invasion with lines 20-32 which dwell on the status of Ṣumur; also EA 85:51-55 with lines 36-37.

[14] See the translation by Lambdin, *JCS*, 7 (1953), p. 75.

[15] In spite of Abdi-Aširta's apparent alarm over the supposed safety of Ṣumur from encroachments by the village of Šeḫlal (*supra*, n. 12), nothing more in the whole of the Amarna corpus of materials is heard about that insignificant city. The real danger facing Syria was the threatening power of the Hittites.

[16] With the death of Abdi-Aširta, his sons are to be observed inheriting a much smaller realm. In EA 102 Rib-Haddi reports that Egypt's commissioner for Canaan, Yanḫamu, had ordered him to reoccupy Ṣumur (lines 14-16). In EA 103 Rib-Haddi further reports the accession of the sons of Abdi-Aširta (lines 9-11). By this time, Rib-Haddi had successfully reoccupied the important port town (lines 13-14). EA 98 speaks of the occasion when many of the cities between Byblos and Ugarit (which had formerly been held by Abdi-Aširta?) extended to Aziru the right to be their suzerain (lines 5-9).

[17] The translation "strong king" follows that rendered by *CAD*, sub *dannu* (Vol. D, 96a). Just who the "strong king" was is made quite evident from EA 126. Compare Rib-Haddi's reference to the activities of the Hittites in the lines just prior to his mention of the "strong king": "I have heard that the Hittite troops are scorching the land with fire. . . . All lands of the king, my lord, are conquered. . . . Behold,

how they (*i.e.*, the sons of Abdi-Aširta) bring soldiers from the Ḫatti countries to take Byblos" (EA 126:51-60). To obtain the services of the Hittite armed forces in Syria, Aziru and his brothers are represented as paying out Egyptian gold. The great economic importance of Pharaoh's gifts to Western Asiatic rulers was the gold which Egypt could procure. Egypt's generosity can only be explained by the weak military and political posture of the Egyptian Empire during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten.

[18] The towns of Ruḫizzi and Lapana in ᶜAmqi (see *infra*, n. 21) are reported to be in Upe (EA 53:56-57). Lines 58-59 in the same letter seem to indicate that ᶜAmqi and Upe were part and parcel of each other.

[19] Kumedi's identification with modern Kamīd el Lōz has been discussed in Chap. III, n. 50.

[20] The Hittites considered Qadeš to have been a vassal of Mitanni and not of Egypt (Colophon of A, 7th Tablet of Šuppiluliuma's annals); Hans G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma...," *JCS*, 10 (1956), p. 97 and note "m".

[21] The name Lapana with the ending of the Ḫurrian plural article *-na* has its analogs in the many Ḫurrian geographical names of this period: *Danu-na*, *Kinaḫ-na*, *Api-na*, *Ḫatti-na*, etc. B. Mazar has identified *Lapaʾ-na* with the *rbi* of Thutmose III's Karnak list (No. 10), and with the Biblical Lebōʾ-Ḫamath (modern Labwe). Lebōʾ-Ḫamath, of course, marked the northern border of the land of Canaan. Cf. B. Maisler [Mazar], *BASOR*, 102 (1946), p. 9; Yohanan Aharoni, *JNES*, 19 (1960), p. 178, n. 4. The precise location of Ruḫizzi must remain conjectural in view of present available sources. The town always appears, however, in closest connection with Lapana and is therefore to be sought in the vicinity of the fountain heads of the Orontes. Cf. Weber *apud EA*, p. 1111; and the valuable discussion by J. Simons, S.J., *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1959), pp. 100-101.

[22] It is possible that Biryawaza was indeed responsible for plundering the caravan of Burnaburiaš II. In EA 197, however, Biryawaza mentions that his so-called brothers had become hostile against him (line 37). These "brothers" may have been Aitagama of Qadeš, Arzawiya of Ruḫizzi, and Biridašwa (lines 31-36). These were the troublemakers in the Upe region. Cf. *infra*, n. 106.

[23] Besides the historical synthesis as presented in Chap. III, which makes it clear that Niqmaddu II surrendered Ugarit to Šuppiluliuma without a fight (cf. Chap. III, nn. 32 and 34), the archaeological record indicates no destruction level in Ugarit which can be attributed to a violent overthrow of the city by Šuppiluliuma's armies (cf. *Ugaritica* I, pp. 38-39; also *Ugaritica* III, Chap. 1, for a more detailed account of Ugarit's relationship with the Hittites as far as archaeological and epigraphical evidence is concerned). The commercial importance of Ugarit in relation to cities in Canaan has been given further

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documentation by the recently published contents of RS 19.42 which indicate that Ugarit traded with Ashdod, Accho and Ashkelon (C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, p. 141).

[24] Cf. the analysis of W. F. Albright, "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre," *JEA*, 23 (1937), p. 196; E. F. Campbell, *op. cit*., pp. 130-131.

[25] The translation given here leans heavily on the rendition found in *CAD*, sub *išātu* (Vol. I-J, p. 230b) which differs from the translation given by W. F. Albright in 1937 (discussed in n. 27). The *CAD* translation obviously assumes that the phrase "the house of the king" refers to the whole city of Ugarit. In support of this assumption is the irrefutable fact that several other cities are also respectively described as a "house" (*bīt*) in the Amarna letters. Rib-Haddi described his vain attempt to enter Byblos after his expulsion from that city by saying: "the house (Byblos) was shut in my face" (EA 136:34-35). The important port of Ṣumur is variously called "the house of the king our lord" (EA 54:36-37); "Ṣumur, the *rabiṣ*-seat (*tarbaṣ*) of my lord and his bedroom (*bīt [ur]ši[š]u*)" (EA 84:13). Tyre is similarly described as the "city of Meritaten (*Mayati*)," eldest daughter of Akhenaten (EA 155:42). W. Helck has surmised that the expression may indicate that Tyre was contributor to the *pr* ("house"), personal fortune, of the heiress Meritaten (W. Helck, "Die ägyptische Verwaltung in den syrischen Besitzungen," *MDOG*, 92 [1960], p. 10). If Helck's supposition has any validity, Ugarit and Ṣumur's yearly tribute may have been put aside for the personal income of Pharaoh. In this manner, both Ugarit and Ṣumur would have been considered as the *pr* of Akhenaten. Cf. EA 84 where Rib-Haddi writes that if Abdi-Aširta obtains Ṣumur, "he will open the treasury of my lord."

[26] In EA 151 the Tyrian prince transmits to Pharaoh news which he heard *from* Canaan (line 50). This does not mean that the news he transmitted is about places in Canaan! Michael C. Astour thus cannot be correct in placing Danuna within the limits of Canaan (*Hellenosemitica*, p. 5; cf. the illuminating discussion by A. F. Rainey, "A Canaanite at Ugarit," *IEJ*, 13 [1963], pp. 43-45; "Ugarit and the Canaanites Again," *IEJ*, 14 [1964], p. 101). The location of Danuna is admirably discussed by A. Goetze, "Cilicians," *JCS*, 16 (1962), pp. 50-52; cf. Astour, *ibid*., p. 34 ("Eastern Cilicia"). G. A. Wainwright erroneously believed Danuna is to be equated with Kizzuwatna ("Abimilki's News of Danuna," *JEA*, 49 [1963], pp. 175-176).

[27] Albright's translation of the text reporting the fire at Ugarit reads: "and the house of the king of Ugarit fire has devoured; half of it has devoured and half not(!). And the men of the army of the land of the Hittites are not (in Syria)," Albright, *op. cit*., p. 203, n. 3, sec. 5. The *CAD* translation (see *supra*, n. 25) is preferred in this present study because the latter version agrees with the reconstructed history of the Amarna Age. The Amarna materials of the late

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Amarna period abound in references to the Hittites in Syria (as seen in this present Chapter; cf. EA 126:51-60; 55:42-43; 161:48-49). C. F. A. Schaeffer is of the opinion that Ugarit was never occupied by the Hittites. According to him, the city-state tried to be faithful to the Egyptians, but had a fairly free and independent position. Cf. Schaeffer's "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit, 15ième, 16ième et 17ième campagnes (1951, 1952 et 1953)," in *Syria*, 31 (1954), pp. 14-67. Schaeffer, who is the outstanding excavator of Ugarit, believes that the fire spoken of in EA 151 is connected with the earthquake and conflagration which preserved the cuneiform tablets of the temple library. The traces of the fire separate the second from the third layer of Level I at Ugarit. In the ruins of a house just before the conflagration was found a scarab inscribed with the name of Amenhotep III. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Tablets of Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (London, 1939), pp. 22-35.

[28] Cf. *supra*, Chap. III, n. 70.

[29] Güterbock, *JCS*, 10 (1956), pp. 93-94. Cf. the discussion in Chap. III sub "Šuppiluliuma's annals--fragment 28."

[30] Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131.

[31] Translated by A. Goetze *apud* *ANET*, p. 318.

[32] The text *KUB*, XIX, 9 is conveniently rendered into English by Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma*..., p. 3. Fragment 28 of Šuppiluliuma's annals is translated by Güterbock, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-98.

[33] Cf. Chap. III sub "Šuppiluliuma's annals--fragment 28."

[34] Aitagama of Qadeš continued on as the ruler of his city until the ninth year of Muršili II's reign. See *supra*, Chap. III, n. 74.

[35] The "Plague Prayers of Muršili" are found translated by Goetze *apud* *ANET*, p. 395; cf. *supra*, n. 32.

[36] The episode of Aziru's Egyptian sojourn will be discussed, sub "Aziru in Egypt."

[37] Translated by Goetze *apud* *ANET*, p. 203; cf. the more literal translation given by Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 61, n. 92.

[38] Cf. V. Korošec, *Zbornik znanstvenih razprav*, 23 (1950), p. 394; George E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, p. 34.

[39] Cf. the discussion by Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

[40] This same "oath of fealty" is found in EA 158:33-35; 164:14-17; 166:17-20; 167:5-7.

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[41] Cf. *CAD*, Vol. *E*, p. 262b.

[42] In spite of the fact that ships were sent to Yarimuta from the Phoenician coastal ports (EA 82:28-29), there is strong evidence for equating Ramoth of Issachar (I Chron. 6:73) with the Yarimuta of the Amarna letters. A full discussion concerning the location of this is found in Appendix VIII.

[43] The cuneiform name Yanḫamu is Semitic and occurs in hieratic as *ynḫm*. Yanḫamu's chief seat was Yarimuta (EA 86:15, 22). Yanḫamu's high position as *rabiṣ* over Canaan and Amurru is evidenced from his commanding position both in the correspondence from Canaan (in the south) and from Amurru (in the north). Specifically his position is determined from the following factors:

1. In EA 171 (lines 3-13) Yanḫamu is pictured as having the final word of whether or not Amurru should be considered a vassal in good standing with Egypt.
2. Letters of complaint from Egypt's vassals in Palestine and Syria are addressed to Yanḫamu; cf. EA 98, 102, and 256.
3. Yanḫamu's activities included official visits over a wide area throughout Egypt's Asiatic empire. In EA 256 it is learned that Yanḫamu would soon visit Pella (lines 32-35). In another instance Yanḫamu is said to be coming to Ṣumur (EA 102:14-16).
4. Yanḫamu is spoken of as being responsible for Pharaoh's lands (EA 215:9-15), and for his garrisons (EA 286:26-28; 289:45-46). His responsibility includes settling disputes among the various vassals (EA 118:50-56; 366:28-33).
5. Yanḫamu also held the position of supplying the vassals with grain and other food supplies (EA 85:34-37; 86:15-16, 33-35).
6. Finally, in such phrases as "Let the king, my lord, ask Yanḫamu" (EA 249:19-20), and "Let the king question his *rabiṣ* who knows Canaan" indicate the importance of the office held by Yanḫamu. Obviously Yanḫamu was the high *rabiṣ* in charge of Canaan and Amurru.

[44] The connection between Aziru's initial submission to Šuppiluliuma (as implied in *PD*, No. 5, line 3) and Yanḫamu's subsequent anger against Aziru (EA 171:6-11), was first brought to the writer's attention through a study of Professor Mendenhall's private notes which the latter kindly made available.

[45] See the discussion given by Campbell, *op. cit*., p. 91.

[46] The evidence that Yanḫamu retired to Egypt from his commanding position as high *rabiṣ* of Canaan (*supra*, n. 43) comes not only from those letters mentioning that Yanḫamu is with Pharaoh at the court (cf. EA 132:29-30; 127:23-24), and from the fact that the letters from the time of Abimilki, Ilirabiḫ, Akizzi, and Rib-Haddi (in exile in Beruta) do not mention Yanḫamu, but also from Yanḫamu's title "Fan-bearer of the king" (*muṣalil šarri*), which he presumably received (or was thought to have received) upon his arrival in Egypt (EA 106:35-40). Such titles as

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"fan-bearer," "holder of the king's sunshade," and especially "Fan-Bearer on the King's Right" were given as honorary positions to retired officers at the court. See the discussion by William C. Hayes, "Egypt: Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III," CAH, II, Chap. IX, Rev. ed., Fascicle 10 (1962), Part 1, p. 51. The length of Yanḫamu's active career in Canaan cannot be determined by whether or not a tomb at Amarna is to be found belonging to that high official. W. F. Albright, for example, assumes that since no tomb was built for Yanḫamu at Amarna, that official's career did not exceed year five of Akhenaten, the year the "heretical" Pharaoh moved to his new capital (JNES, 6 [1947], p. 59). Campbell's chronological framework, upon which the relative placement of the Amarna letters rests, is based upon this assailable assumption (Campbell, op. cit., pp. 90, 93, and 96). However, Ḫaremḫab was a general of Akhenaten, yet his tomb was not built at Amarna! It is also a fact that no tomb at Amarna was begun after the twelfth year of Akhenaten. "Officials at Amarna whose careers began after the twelfth year apparently did not construct tombs for themselves" (Campbell, ibid., p. 90). Since Yanḫamu in all probability did not retire until sometime after Akhenaten's twelfth year, the question concerning whether or not there is an extant tomb which may be assigned to him is irrelevant.

[47] Abimilki and Akizzi must have authored their letters to the court at about the same time, as they both report the attack which Aitagama and Aziru made against Biryawaza (EA 151:59-63; 53:24-34). Prior to the Akizzi correspondence, it is found that Aziru did not control Ṣumur, Tyre was ruled by Yapa-Haddi, and Rib-Haddi was still to be found residing in Byblos. At the time of Akizzi's letters (EA 52-57), the historical milieu had changed; at that later date Aziru is seen in control of Ṣumur, Tyre is now ruled by Abimilki, and Rib-Haddi had fled Byblos. Cf. the discussion by Campbell, op. cit., p. 72, and Appendix V.

[48] The observation that Aziru compromised his position as an Egyptian vassal at the time of Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign is a conclusion forced upon the historian by subsequent events in the troublesome Amorite's life. At the end of the Amarna period, as will be seen, Aziru was banished from Syria. Upon his return to his homeland, the Amorite entered into a treaty with Šuppiluliuma, an occasion described by the conqueror as a time when Aziru "ca[me] again into servitude" (KBo, X, 13, III:5). The Aziru-Šuppiluliuma treaty thus implies that Amurru recognized the overlordship of Ḫatti at some point in time prior to a ratification of a formal accord between Aziru and Šuppiluliuma.

[49] A discussion of the famed conqueror's overwhelming Syrian invasion as given in KUB, XIX, 9 specifically mentions that Šuppiluliuma fixed the boundary of his conquests "on yon side (of) the land of Qadeš (at) the land of Amurru." The definitive account of that campaign rendered in PD, No. 1, obv. 17-47 makes no mention of Amurru, but again stresses the fact that the conquest did not go beyond Qadeš, the gateway

to the Biqā^{c} Valley and the Phoenician coastal lands (cf. line 47). It is therefore obvious that Amurru did not become a vassal of Šuppiluliuma during his "great Syrian" campaign. Cf. supra, n. 48.

[50] The quotation is from V. Korošec, Zbornik..., loc. cit. Cf. EA 161:47-53.

[51] Cf. supra, n. 49.

[52] Supra, n. 49.

[53] Supra, n. 48.

[54] For a different interpretation of EA 98 than presented here, compare Kitchen, op. cit., pp. 18-19, 46. Kitchen believes that EA 98 reflects events subsequent to Aziru's treaty with Šuppiluliuma (PD, No. 4 and KBo, X, 13), when Amurru with all its territories and alliances passed from nominal Egyptian to Hittite overlordship "from Byblos to Ugarit" (lines 7-9). Campbell, The Chronology..., p. 107, would see EA 98 with its reference "from Byblos to Ugarit" as indicating a time after the fall of Byblos to Aziru. However, since the letter in question is addressed to Yanhamu, it should be dated early in Aziru's career, before the high rabiṣ retired to Egypt. The reference "from Byblos to Ugarit" would mean the city-states between Byblos and Ugarit, and may not be interpreted to mean that Byblos had fallen to Amurru.

[55] Supra, n. 9.

[56] For the location of Amurru see Appendix VIII.

[57] Cf. supra, n. 16.

[58] The vassal city-states were always called "the city of the king" (EA 197:38). Abdi-Aširta was a stray dog because "he took the land of the king to himself" (EA 71:18-19). For Aziru not only to take the land for himself, but also to turn over Amurru to a foreign power must have been looked upon (by the Egyptians) as a heinous crime!

[59] For a discussion of the security measures which Egypt took to maintain its sovereignty over the Syro-Palestine countries, see M. Abdul-Kader Mohammad, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine During the New Kingdom," ASAE, 56 (1959), pp. 125-136. Of particular importance to the Egyptians was their hold upon the coastal towns and such key centers as Megiddo and Qadeš.

[60] Although Akhenaten is not named in Aziru's correspondence, it is certain that these letters emanate from the time of his reign. EA 162, authored by "the king" of Egypt (line 2) and addressed to Aziru, ends with a closing formula, "And may you know that the king is hale as the sun in heaven; may his troops, his chariots from the upper land to the lower land, (from) the rising of the sun to the going down of the

sun be very well" (lines 78-81). Thus in typical fashion did Akhenaten neutralize an original formula used by his father Amenhotep III which credited "Amūn" with placing Upper and Lower Egypt under the two feet of the kings! Cf. letter 369 (Mercer's 31a), lines 24-32. In EA 158 and 164 Aziru addresses himself to Tūtu, who at that time seems to have been head of Egypt's foreign office. Tūtu (Egyptian *Twtw*) is known from his tomb at Amarna where he is shown to be among the highest officials of Akhenaten's realm with the title "chief mouthpiece of all the foreign lands." See the discussion on Tūtu by N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (London, 1903-1908), VI, p. 14; Albright, *JNES*, 5 (1946), p. 22; Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[61] Cf. the discussion by A-Ḳ. Mohammad, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

[62] The excuse which Aziru used for not coming to Egypt is amplified further in EA 167:20-25: "The king of Ḫatti is (now) in Nuḫašše and I am fearful of his presence. (From Nuḫašše it is only) two one(-day) journeys to Tunip . . . Hopefully he will not come to Amurru!" Cf. EA 165:39; 166:26; also cf. the translation given by *CAD*, Vol. *Ḫ*, p. 109.

[63] Cf. A-Ḳ. Mohammad, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, p. 105.

[64] This son of Rib-Haddi was undoubtedly Api who is mentioned in EA 138:8, 57, 76, and 107. The onus of Ilirabiḫ's sin was that he expelled Pharaoh's appointed regent to Byblos and cast in his lot with the renegade Aziru.

[65] "Why are you on good terms with the *amēlu* with whom the king is quarreling?" (EA 162:24-25); cf. *CAD*, Vol. *Ṣ*, p. 89. Aitagama was by now a sworn enemy of Egypt and an ally of Ḫatti (in spite of his letter EA 189).

[66] More than a year had elapsed since Pharaoh had first summoned Aziru to the court to explain his actions (EA 162:42-45, with which cf. EA 160:27-28). These earlier summons made by the court are referred to by Aziru in several of his letters. EA 161:26 contains the words: "May the king my lord hearken to my words when I appear before the king my lord." Compare the similar references in EA 164:20-26, 43-44; 165:14-15, 25-26. Lines 27-28 of EA 158 should read: "[Be]hold [ma]y you sit before [the king] my lord [whe]n I go up (to Egypt)." Cf. *CAD*, sub *elū*.

[67] The conclusion that Ilirabiḫ, known from his two letters EA 139-140, was a younger brother of Rib-Haddi and was the one who forced Rib-Haddi into exile may be gathered from a perusal of EA 142: 15-20; 137:16-17, 57-58.

[68] Cf. *CAD*, Vol. *E*, p. 269a.

Footnotes to Chapter V (10)

[69] See the discussion in Chap. III sub "The Second ᶜAmqi Attack of Šuppiluliuma" sub "The Amarna materials."

[70] See the discussion in Chap. III sub "Šuppiluliuma's annals--fragment 28" and "The Second ᶜAmqi Attack of Šuppiluliuma."

[71] EA 170 seemingly was addressed to Aziru in Egypt. See Chap. III sub "The Second ᶜAmqi Attack of Šuppiluliuma" sub "The Amarna materials." That Baᶜaluya was the dominant member of this caretaker regime is shown by Ugaritic evidence to be discussed.

[72] Lines 27-28, 32-33 of this same letter (EA 169) also speak about Aziru dwelling in Egypt.

[73] Despite the fact that the kings of Nuḫašše refer to Aziru as the father of the authors of EA 169 (see line 19), Baᶜaluya and Batti-Ilu were surely brothers of the renegade Amorite. It was possibly in accordance with ancient custom to call the ruler of a country "the father" of his household. The evidence that these two men were the brothers of Aziru is derived from the often repeated expression used by Rib-Haddi that Amurru was ruled by the "sons of Abdi-Aširta" (cf. EA 103:9-10), and the fact that Aziru himself refers to both Baᶜaluya (EA 165:8-9) and Batti-Ilu (EA 161:20) as his brothers. The Aziru-Šuppiluliuma treaty also carries the implication that Baᶜaluya was the brother of Aziru (*KBo*, X, 13, I:26; see *infra*, "The Boghazkoy sources pertaining to Aziru in Egypt").

[74] *PRU* IV, *Dossier* II, C, pp. 281-286; cf. *Ugaritica* IV, p. 115. Niqmaddu II is known to have been king of Ugarit until at least the seventh year of Muršili II. This information is gathered from a letter Šarri-Kušuḫ, king of Kargamiš, wrote to Niqmaddu during the first time Nuḫašše revolted against Muršili (RS 17.334 and the discussion in *PRU* IV, p. 53).

[75] The treaty is edited by Helmut Freydank, *MIO*, 7 (1960), pp. 356-381. A. Goetze gives a number of corrections to the text of the treaty in *JCS*, 16 (1962), pp. 28-29.

[76] The reference in the treaty to the fall of Kargamiš is explicit (*KBo*, X, 13, I:14-17). Since Kargamiš fell during the second ᶜAmqi attack, Aziru's return is to be dated to sometime within Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war. See Chap. III sub "The Third ᶜAmqi Attack."

[77] See Chap. III sub "The identity of *Nibḫururiya* and Appendix VI.

[78] The Amarna letters, as indicated in the present Chapter, show Aziru retained in Egypt during the second ᶜAmqi attack. It is to be noted that the Hittite records concur by showing that Aziru was not released from Egypt until a point in time after the fall of Kargamiš. Cf. *supra*, n. 76.

Footnotes to Chapter V (11)

[79] Cf. "Pharaoh as a Sportsman," *ANET*, pp. 243-244; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, pp. 176-179.

[80] See the discussion by H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), p. 23.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, 101; Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 17, n. 31.

[82] An Egyptian state document calls Akhenaten "the criminal of Akhetaten," cf. J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Harper Torchbooks, 1959), p. 12. Tut^{c}ankhamūn seems not to have assumed "kingship" until about a year after Akhenaten's death. See the discussion in Appendix I.

[83] The young successor of Akhenaten changed his name from Tut^{c}ankh*aten* to Tut^{c}ankh*amūn* upon his accession to the throne, thus indicating that his reign marked the end of the Aten "faith" as the state religion (though the worship of Aten was not eradicated immediately). See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II, article 1019; Desroches-Noblecourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-181; Piankoff, *op. cit.*, p. 14. After his coronation at Thebes, the city of Amūn, Tut^{c}ankhamūn continued to live in Akhetaten (Amarna) for a season. Inscriptions from his stay there indicate that he retained the affix Amūn to his name and always appended the epithet "Ruler of southern On," thus indicating that he regarded Thebes as his principal city. See Fairman *apud* *CoA* III, p. 182; J. Samson *apud* *CoA* III, p. 230.

[84] Cf. J. Wilson's comment: "One of the names which Amen-em-het I took for himself was 'the Repeating of Births' or 'Renaissance,' indicating his consciousness that he was inaugurating a new era, which brought back to Egypt some of its past glories," *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (Phoenix Books, 1951), p. 133. The historical memory concerning their periods of "renaissance" is revealed in a temple inscription of the Nineteenth Dynasty which contains "the names of King Menes of the First Dynasty, King Neb-hepet-Re of the Eleventh Dynasty, and King Ah-mose of the Eighteenth Dynasty . . . listed together, obviously as the founders of the Old, the Middle, and the New Kingdoms," W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York, 1953), I, p. 153.

[85] "Ritual is concerned with the present in which it is performed. Through . . . ceremonies in the coronation of each successive king, his succession became to some extent a re-enactment of the original event, participating in its virtue and reaffirming its purpose," Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Compare the studies of Mircea Eliade who has brought together a corpus of material bearing on the underlying philosophies of traditional societies. Historic civilizations of the ancient world seemingly instituted rituals to abolish past time, restore primordial chaos, and repeat the cosmogonic act, thereby regenerating the world to life. A new year, or a coronation of a king,

rendered an appropriate occasion for such a ritual; M. Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Harper Torchbooks, 1959), pp. 51-62.

[86] The Roman Saturnalia is evidently a relic of a *period of license* (when the normal order of society was halted) which occurred between the removal of the old king and the installation of the new. See Theodor H. Gaster, *The New Golden Bough* (Mentor Book, 1959), p. xxiii. The custom described in the above text was more typically "Mesopotamian" than "Egyptian." It is interesting to note, however, that the Egyptians "recognized a period of suspense between the occurrence of death and the completion of the rites of burial" in which they thought of the body as neither dead nor alive; Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 110. Whether this belief was observed by a so-called *period of license* at the death of a pharaoh is not known. Of particular interest is the evidence that ancient Mesopotamian rulers established general releases by which the servitude of many free-born persons came to an end; J. J. Finkelstein, "Ammiṣaduqa's Edict and the Babylonian 'Law Codes,'" *JCS*, 15 (1961), p. 104. At least three members of the so-called Hammurabi Dynasty "established social justice" (a royal act aiming at the restoration of social equity) in the course of their first full year as king; Julius Lewy, "The Biblical Institution of Derōr in the Light of Akkadian Documents," *Eretz-Israel*, 5 (1958), p. 29*, n. 76. What this involved is hinted at in the prologue of the law-code of King Lipit-Ištar who "established justice" in Sumer and Akkad, and procured the freedom of those upon whom slaveship had been imposed; S. N. Kramer, "Lipit-Ishtar Lawcode," *ANET*, p. 159. The Book of Kings reports that Jehoiachin, king of Judah, was freed by Evil-merodach, king of Babylon, "in the year that he began to reign" (II Kings 25:27-29). In ancient Israel, the death of a high priest was the occasion of an amnesty (Num. 35:28).

[87] Although Egypt and Mesopotamia held very different views as to the nature of their king and the temper of the universe in which he functioned, both societies thought of their rulers as being responsible for the actual well-being of the earth itself. Compare the remarks of J. Wilson: "As the coronation of each king was a recreation for Egypt, the coronation texts insist that *ma^{c}at* ["the maintenance of divine order within society"] has been restored through . . . the incoming king," *apud* "Authority and Law in the Ancient Orient," *JAOS*, 17 (1954), p. 2. In Mesopotamia the king was thought to be a producer of wealth and responsible for fertility; Thorkild Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 18 (1957), pp. 115-116, n. 51.

[88] "The Sed festival is usually called a jubilee. . . . It was a true renewal of kingly potency, a rejuvenation of rulership *ex opere operato*," Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 79. The theme of the jubilee rites was one of joy and release; cf. Cyril Aldred, *JEA*, 43 (1957), p. 116.

Footnotes to Chapter V (13)

[89] The year date at the beginning of Tutᶜankhamūn's "Restoration Stela" unfortunately is lost. The inscription does mention that the boy-king lived for a time at an estate near Memphis. Given the fact that there was an uncertainty of who were ruling Egypt in the year following Akhenaten's death (see Appendix I) and that the succession to the throne involved both an "accession" and "coronation" (Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 102), the celebration described in the "Restoration Stela" may have taken place at a later date than the accession year of the youthful king. Cf. J. Wilson, "Tut-ankh-Amon's Restoration after the Amarna Revolution," *ANET*, pp. 251-252. Cf. H. Frankfort's understanding of the text: "His majesty [Tutᶜankhamūn] drove out disorder (or falsehood) from the Two Lands so that order (or truth) was again established in its place; he made disorder (falsehood) an abomination of the land as at 'the first time' (creation)," *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 54.

[90] Desroches-Noblecourt, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[91] See Appendix I.

[92] "And now, our lord, we request from our lord the son of Aki-Tešub for king (of Tunip) and may our lord grant him (the kingship)." Cf. the translation given by W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen...*, p. 306.

[93] "Indeed, my lord the king of Egypt grants (kingship to) the son of Aki-Tešub, but why does the king, our lord, turn him back in the way?" Cf. *supra*, n. 92.

[94] *NAM.LUGAL-ra(sic?!)-tum* (=šarrūtum?), possibly to be read *NAM.LUGAL-ru$_4$-tum*(?). The "them" in *ikšud-šunu* refers to the singular "Ḫatti" in the same way as the plural suffix of line 28 refers to "Niʾi." For the translation of *kašādu* in line 24, cf. the observations of Albright and Moran in *JCS*, 2 (1948), p. 245. *Kašādu* basically means "to reach" and hence "to attain" and variations thereof.

[95] For "*ippuššunu*" cf. *CAD*, Vol. E, pp. 196ff. Admittedly the historian lacks the sources to illuminate properly this text.

[96] Akit-Tešub of Niʾi, who fought Šuppiluliuma during the "great Syrian" campaign, is made mention of in *PD*, No. 1, obv. 30-35.

[97] The evidence obtained from the contents of EA 59 is not concrete enough to arrive at a definitive conclusion. It is obvious, however, that the letter must date either to the very early career of Aziru or to a time postdating his Amarna correspondence. In favor of the view set forth, *i.e.*, that EA 59 was authored late in Aziru's tenure in office, the following points may be observed:

1. Aziru is presented as a commanding political figure.
2. The letter was written at a time when Pharaoh had jeopardized the political status of Tunip.

3. EA 59 dates to a time after the Hittites already had become a serious factor in Syrian politics.

4. According to Hittite sources, the period after Aziru's return from Egypt was characterized by the Amorite fighting the conqueror's enemies (*PD*, No. 5, lines 5-7). A similar situation is presented in EA 59 where Aziru journeys to Ḫatti and then returns to Syria to fight Niʾi and Tunip.

[98] Cf. *supra*, n. 37. *PD*, No. 5, lines 2-7 may be broken down in the following way: Lines 2-3 speak about Aziru's rebellion (thus implying an initial submission) against Šuppiluliuma. Lines 4-7 speak about the Amorite's loyalty. The text now makes a point of the fact that Aziru "was bound by treaty." The mention of the treaty at this juncture thus has chronological significance. In the same way *KBo*, X, 13 speaks about Aziru coming again into servitude (implying an initial submission followed by a rebellion). Only then, according to the text of the treaty, did Šuppiluliuma conclude a treaty with the Amorite.

[99] *Supra*, n. 98.

[100] The present study's historical interpretation of Aziru's career as reflected in *PD*, No. 5 follows that of E. Cavaignac, "L'Égypte et les Hittites de 1370 à 1345," *Syria*, 33 (1956), p. 48. For a different viewpoint see the analysis of H. Freydank, *MIO*, 7 (1960), pp. 380-381.

[101] Cf. *supra*, n. 76.

[102] See Chap. Three sub "The First ᶜAmqi Attack of Šuppiluliuma," sub "The account of the campaign."

[103] The text follows the rendition of F. Bilabel in *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927), pp. 307-308, as translated into English by Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, p. 51. After mentioning the installation of Tette as king of Nuḫašše, the fragmented text immediately goes on to speak about the land of Amurru. Unfortunately the text is damaged at this critical juncture.

[104] Tette of Nuḫašše survived Šuppiluliuma's death to renew his treaty with Šuppiluliuma's son and successor, Muršili II (*KBo*, I, 4). Tette revolted against Muršili in the seventh year of that Hittite monarch's reign (RS 17.334). Cf. *PRU* IV, pp. 53-55.

[105] *PD*, No. 1, obv. 38 speaks of "all its (Nuḫašše's) countries." RS 17.227 mentions the "kings of Nuḫašše" (line 3). Cf. the discussion by O. Weber *apud* Knudtzon, *EA*, pp. 1103ff.

[106] EA 197 authored by Biryawaza, *rabiṣ* of Upe, refers to Qadeš (Gizza) as if that city was in league with several others. In light of line 37 it would seem that Aitagama, king of Qadeš, Arzawiya, king of

Ruḫizzi, Biridašwa, and Biryawaza were brothers (*i.e.*, of equal status in a common league). For a recent discussion on the history of Qadeš prior to the Amarna years, see Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-310.

[107] *ANET*, pp. 235, 238.

[108] Aitagama of Qadeš wrote a letter (EA 189) to Akhenaten, but he seemingly remained loyal to Šuppiluliuma. In the late Amarna years an Egyptian military force attacked Qadeš (see Chap. Three sub "The Egyptian Counterattack at Qadeš").

[109] In the renewed revolt of Nuḫašše and Qadeš in Muršili II's ninth year, Aitagama apparently continued to remain loyal to Ḫatti for he is found to be assassinated during the uprising. Cf. Götze, "Die Annalen des Muršiliš," pp. 80ff., 104ff.

[110] *Supra*, n. 108.

[111] Güterbock, *JCS*, 10 (1956), pp. 112ff.

[112] Following the attack against Qadeš it must be assumed that the Egyptian forces remained in Syria and were there a year later when Zannanza, the Hittite prince, was sent through Syria by Šuppiluliuma, on his way toward Egypt. An Egyptian force (under Ḥaremḥab?) slew the prince before he even reached his intended destination. See Chap. Three sub "The Third ᶜAmqi Attack."

[113] The translation of Goetze, *ANET*, p. 203.

[114] Following the translation given by *CAD*, Vol. *I-J*, p. 25a.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE LENGTH OF THE AMARNA YEARS

The Beginning of the Amarna Years

The date of Akhenaten's move to Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna), where the "heretical" Pharaoh established his new capital and archival administrative center, can be established with some degree of certainty. The boundary stelas show that the new city was founded about "Year Four" of that Pharaoh's reign.[1] However, Akhenaten seems not to have moved to his new capital until about "Year Six;" there is a boundary stela of that year with an additional inscription of the following year, renewing the vows of dedication of the city.[2] It was also in his sixth year that he changed his name from Amenhotep to Akhenaten.[3]

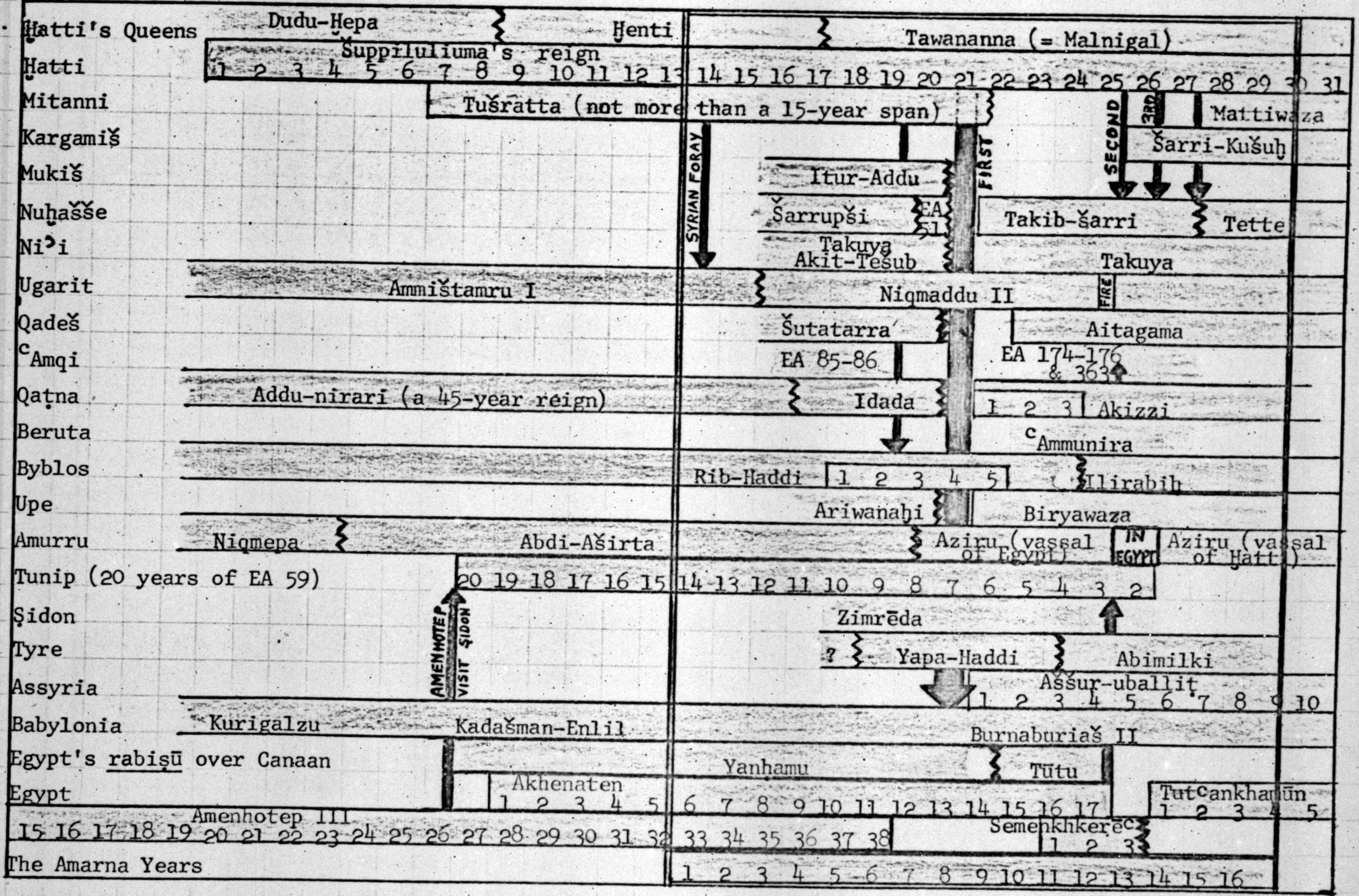
Though a number of the "international" letters recovered from the ruins of Akhetaten may have been transferred to that location from Thebes, the old capital, the so-called "Amarna years" may be said to have begun about year five, or year six. On the accompanying chronological Table, a vertical line has been drawn between Akhenaten's fifth and sixth years to mark the start of the Amarna Age.

The End of the Amarna Years

Tut^{c}ankhamūn seemingly left Akhetaten about the fourth year of his reign. Jar dockets at Akhetaten attributable to his reign run from years one to four. These dockets can hardly be assigned to Akhenaten as that Pharaoh, as just seen, did not occupy his new capital before his fifth year.[4] Heightening the probability that these jar dockets are to be assigned to Tut^{c}ankhamūn, are those letters showing that the Amarna archives extended into the early years of that king's reign. Besides EA 9, which is specifically addressed to *Nibḫurriria* (the prenomen of Tut^{c}ankhamūn),[5] EA 210, addressed to "[...*i]pḫuri*[....]" (line 1), and EA 209, with its oath of loyalty to a new Pharaoh on his accession to the throne (lines 6-16),[6] indicate that letters from the Asian vassal states continued to be received at Akhetaten even after Akhenaten's death. Several inscriptions (found on molds, scarabs, and mud seals) reading "Tut^{c}ankhamūn Ruler of Southern On (Thebes)" have also been recovered from Amarna, leaving no doubt as to the young king's presence at the site following his coronation.[7] The occurrence of Ḥaremḥab's name at Amarna shows that some people still lived on there after the court's departure, not that it was in any way still a royal residence in Ḥaremḥab's time.[8]

Semenkhkerē^c and Tut^{c}ankhamūn. The correspondence between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma and an Egyptian queen following the death of Pharaoh *Nibḫururiya* took place (according to the conclusions of the present study) in the late Amarna years. The reference to that correspondence from the Hittite archives indicates that Egypt was paralyzed by a political vacuum for about a year.[9] The internal evidence from Egypt itself not only shows two prominent queens, Nefertiti and Meritaten in dominant positions at this time (see the discussion in Appendix VI, article 4), but also implies that Meritaten's husband, the ephemeral ruler Semenkhkerēᶜ, outlived his associate Akhenaten on the throne.[10] Following the demise of the famous "heretical" Pharaoh, Semenkhkerēᶜ seemingly journeyed to Thebes (where his highest known year, his third, was found on a hieratic graffito)[11] to better his position in the power struggle which then took place. If these events are interpreted correctly, Semenkhkerēᶜ's bid for political existence was quickly crushed by the adherents of Tutᶜankhamūn (the most notable being "the regent[?]" Nefertiti[?]).[12] The odd fact that certain burial furnishings from Semenkhkerēᶜ's sepulcher were pillaged for subsequent use in Tutᶜankhamūn's tomb is surely an indicator of such a struggle. It is difficult to imagine why anyone should have chosen funerary equipment for the boy-king which had been associated with the mummy and viscera of his predecessor, unless there had been a bitter contention for the throne in which the party of Tutᶜankhamūn never recognized the legal claims of Semenkhkerēᶜ's right to rule.[13] The accompanying chronological Table therefore posits a tentative political hiatus of a year's length between the reigns of Akhenaten and his successor Tutᶜankhamūn.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF SYRIA IN THE AMARNA AGE



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FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX I

[1] N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, V, p. 20; James Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II, p. 392, note *c*.

[2] See the discussion by Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 221-222. Cf. Breasted, *op. cit.*, II, articles 958 and 959. Eric Uphill has reviewed recently the sed-festivals of Akhenaten, showing that the "heretical" Pharaoh celebrated the first festival of "year six" at Thebes, rather than at Amarna; "The Sed-Festivals of Akhenaten," *JNES*, 22 (1963), p. 125.

[3] Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-218.

[4] W. H. Fairman *apud* *CoA* III, pp. 157-159, 182. Since Akhenaten's reign lasted for seventeen years (Fairman, "The Supposed Year 21 of Akhenaten," *JEA*, 46 [1950], pp. 108-109), the above conclusion concerning Tut^{c}ankhamūn's stay at Amarna means that the years when Egypt's capital was located at Akhetaten extended at least some sixteen years.

[5] Cf. *supra*, Chap. Three, n. 98. Because E. F. Campbell, in his recently published book, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, bases his chronological framework on the assumption that Yanḥamu's career ended in the fifth year of Akhenaten (pp. 90, 93, and 96), he is "forced" into a position of viewing the great majority of the "royal" and vassal letters from Amarna (which are contemporary to Yanḥamu's tenure in office) as dating to a time prior to Akhenaten's move to his new capital. Since such a hypothesis leaves only a few letters to be assigned to the Amarna years themselves, Campbell concludes that these final missives of the archives represent those received up to within the last four or five years before the court was moved back to Thebes (*ibid.*, p. 53; and the parallel remarks in *BA*, 23 [1960], p. 10). He therefore does not want to admit that there are any letters which can be dated to the reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn. The present study, however, would see Yanḥamu's career extending to beyond Akhenaten's twelfth year, thus allowing most of the Amarna correspondence to have a more reasonable time-range within the span of the Amarna years. Cf. Chap. Five, n. 46.

[6] Seemingly, the vassals had to renew their oath on the accession of a new pharaoh; M. Abdul-Ḳader Mohammad, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine During the New Kingdom," *ASAE*, 56 (1959), p. 111. Interestingly the author of EA 209 not only mentions that his cities rejoice before the king, but he also ends his letter in an oath formula, beginning with what was expected of him--the covenant stipulations--and ending with the curses invoked upon his head if he did not live up to the sworn oath (lines 11-16).

[7] Fairman *apud* *CoA* III, *loc. cit.*; Julia Samson *apud* *CoA* III, p. 230.

Footnotes to Appendix I (2)

[8] *CoA* III, p. 4. Tut^{c}ankhamūn may not have immediately moved to Thebes upon abandoning Akhetaten. The "Restoration Stela" of the youthful ruler speaks of him living on an estate near Memphis. Cf. J. Wilson *apud* *ANET*, p. 252, n. 5.

[9] Ḫattuša-zita, the messenger sent by Šuppiluliuma in answer to the Egyptian queen's message, remained in Egypt over the winter and returned to his lord in the spring. Even after this extended stay in Egypt, Ḫattuša-zita was able to report to the Hittite conqueror that Egypt had no pharaoh (*KBo*, V, 6; cf. *ANET*, p. 319; also Šuppiluliuma's annals, fragments 29-30; Güterbock, *JCS*, 10 [1956], p. 107).

[10] "In a tomb at El-^{c}Amârna where Akhenaten was shown together with his spouse . . . their cartouches were replaced by those of Smenkhkarē^c and Merytamūn, which may well indicate that the older king [Akhenaten] perished before his younger associate left El-^{c}Amârna for Thebes;" Gardiner, *op. cit*., p. 233. For the evidence pertaining to Semenkhkerē^c's coregency with Akhenaten, see P. Newberry, "Akhenaten's Eldest Son-in-law ^{c}Ankhkheprurē^c," *JEA*, 14 (1927), pp. 3-9. It is certain that Semenkhkerē^c reigned some three years, and that he accomplished at least a partial restoration of the Amūn cult at Thebes; see Fairman's comments in *CoA* III, p. 157.

[11] Gardiner, *loc. cit*.

[12] See Appendix IV, article 4.

[13] Cf. the discussion by Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, pp. 165-169.

APPENDIX II

THE KURUŠTAMA TREATY BETWEEN AMENHOTEP III AND ŠUPPILULIUMA

The Date of the Kuruštama Treaty

The "Plague Prayers" Of Muršili II[1] make it clear that the Hittite conqueror, Šuppiluliuma launched three attacks against the ᶜAmqi region of central Syria in violation of an international peace treaty between Egypt and Ḫatti. Fortunately, there are a number of clues which give some indication as to the treaty's chronological placement. The famous, later treaty between Ḫaṭṭušili III and Ramses II (about 1280 B.C.) specifically mentions an earlier treaty between the two countries from the time of Šuppiluliuma.[2] In the Egyptian text of this later treaty, which represents a translation of an original Akkadian version now lost,[3] we find the following words attributed to Ḫattušili III:

> As to the traditional regulation [the former treaty] which had been here in the time of Suppiluliuma, the Great Prince of Hatti, as well as the traditional regulation which had been in the time of Muwatallis [the brother of Ḫattušili] . . . I seized hold of it.

The fact is well known that the Hittite treaties in their introductions recapitulate the events which in the past have determined the relations of the Hittite kings to the respective country.[4] The historian, therefore, cannot escape the conclusion that the first treaty covenanted between Egypt and Ḫatti was ratified during the reign of Šuppiluliuma and was not reactivated until sometime after the Amarna period, "in the time of Muwatallis."[5] The Egypt-Ḫatti treaty of Šuppiluliuma's time could have been none other than the so-called "Kuruštama" treaty mentioned in the "Plague Prayers." Apparently it was after Šuppiluliuma had obtained the throne when the somewhat obscure emigration of the people of Kuruštama, in northern Anatolia, to Egyptian territory took place.

Allusions to the "Kuruštama" treaty are not only found in the "Plague Prayers" but also in the annals of Šuppiluliuma as compiled by his son, Muršili:[6]

> Then my father asked for the tablet of the treaty again, (in which there was told) how formerly the Storm God took the people of Kurustama, sons of Hatti, and carried them to Egypt and made them Egyptians; and how the Storm God concluded a treaty between the countries of Egypt and Hatti, and how they were continuously friendly with each other.

Two points are to be noted. First, the "Kuruštama" peace treaty could only have been concluded after the Hittites had conquered the Kashkeans (since the treaty is connected with the emigration of the Kuruštameans, who originated in the country of the Kashkeans). Secondly, it is clear from available sources that the "Kuruštama" agreement took place sometime prior to the Hittite capture of Kargamiš. The "Kuruštama" treaty was already in force by that time, since the second violation of the "Kuruštama" treaty (the second ^{c}Amqi attack) took place during the Hittite siege of Kargamiš. Šuppiluliuma's annals concur with this obvious observation by speaking of the Hittite conqueror renewing this Egyptian-Hittite accord about a year after the fall of Kargamiš.[7] One can only conclude that the "Kuruštama" treaty did not originate during the final years of Šuppiluliuma's rule.

Appendix II (3)

When did Šuppiluliuma conquer the Kashkeans? Keeping in mind the chronological implications just stressed (i.e., Šuppiluliuma's victory over Kashkean forces after the fall of Kargamiš may be dismissed from consideration),[8] all indications point to the early part of Šuppiluliuma's career when this famous Hittite monarch still served as an army commander under his father (the relevant documents are KBo, VI, 28 and fragments 2-14 of Šuppiluliuma's annals).[9] It was during this period, after the disastrous incursions by various Anatolian peoples against Ḫatti, that the Hittites not only defeated certain of the Kashkean tribes, but also carried away as booty many of their citizens (fragment 10 of the annals). Thus a source analysis would seemingly place the "Kuruštama" treaty to the earliest years of Šuppiluliuma.

The initial years of Šuppiluliuma's career are, in fact, a most favorable time for such a treaty to have taken place. It was at this time--at the very dawn of the Amarna Age--, when Šuppiluliuma's power was not yet of such proportions as to clash directly with Egypt's far-flung Asian empire, that such an international covenant would be expected. Nowhere, in any of the references to the treaty, is the "Kuruštama" compact seen as the result of Egyptian-Hittite hostilities. On the contrary, when after the fall of Kargamiš Šuppiluliuma addressed an Egyptian delegation, he made reference to the former friendship between the two countries: "Of old, Hattuša and Egypt were friendly with each other . . ."[10]

The friendly relationship between Ḫatti and Egypt which culminated in a formal treaty during the reign of Šuppiluliuma no doubt followed the analogy of Egypt's relations with the other nations of that age. In that era it was characteristic for one state to recognize another's independence by entertaining mutual diplomatic relations. In that way international relations were established.[11] One may therefore suppose that the "Kurŭstama" agreement was not formed as the result of any military contact between Ḫatti and Egypt,[12] or that the "regulation" of "the time of Suppiluliuma" dealt with spheres of Hittite or Egyptian influence in North Syria, as it possibly would have if the treaty had followed a clash of interest in that region.[13] Furthermore, why should spheres of influence be delineated between remote powers having no contiguous border? Nevertheless, the very act of forming a covenant relationship prohibited either party--on pain of violating the covenant oath--from marauding into the other's recognized territory. As will be seen, the difficulties which arose between Ḫatti and Egypt reached a critical phase only when the Hittites fell heir to the Syrian empire of Mitanni.

The formative years of the great Hittite king's career, as it was noted in Chapter Two, began at a time when the Hittites were still reeling from the blows of disastrous incursions against their collapsing empire. The country of Arzawa, an erstwhile vassal of the Hittites, located in southwestern Asia Minor, is seen at this period as one of those who sacked the Ḫatti lands (KBo, VI, 28). The Arzawa correspondence, found among the archives of Tell el-Amarna, may have a bearing on the date of the "Kurŭstama" agreement if two points can be established: (1) if the Arzawa letters can be dated to the early years of Šuppiluliuma's reign, and (2) if in these letters a most tantalizing reference to what may have been the "Kurŭstama" treaty can be verified. As will be shortly seen, the first point may be reasonably answered in the affirmative, while the second point is much more elusive.

At the time of Šuppiluliuma's emergence on the political scene, Arzawa had evidently not only broken away from the Hittite yoke, but also had seized the opportunity to expand territorially at the expense of Ḫatti's misfortunes. The fledging independence of Arzawa could not have lasted long, however, for soon the rising star of Šuppiluliuma is seen vigorously defeating the numerous foes of Ḫatti, restoring and eventually expanding the Hittite empire (*KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 6-25; *KUB*, XIX, 9; Šuppiluliuma's annals, fragments 2-27). The *floruit* of Arzawa's independence is thereby delimited to sometime during the youthful years of Šuppiluliuma, when he served his father as a general and during the earliest years of his reign.

The "Arzawa" correspondence (written by the Pharaoh Amenhotep III [*Ni-mu-wa-re-ia*] to the king of Arzawa) can be said, in some confidence, to date to the ephemeral period of Arzawa's independence. Since the international protocol of the Late Bronze Age reveals the fact that only the rulers of independent states were entitled to send messengers to the rulers of other states and to receive their messengers (*ius legationis activum et passivum*),[14] it follows that the relationship between Egypt and Arzawa was at least formulated during the period of Arzawa's severance from Hittite overlordship.[15]

In the introduction of their letters the independent rulers of the Amarna period addressed each other as "brother," the only exception being the ruler of Arzawa (EA 31) who is not addressed in this customary manner by the Pharaoh. Any illusions Arzawa may have possessed of equality and independence are thus slighted by Amenhotep III, who, nevertheless, seems interested in having close relations with the Arzawean royal family. This observed hesitancy of granting full recognition to Arzawa by Egypt would fit the historical situation as just described. It was a period when Arzawa was testing her diplomatic "wings" as a fledgling state not yet fully capable of exploiting her newly won emancipation.

The inference in EA 31:25 that the king of Arzawa had been the recipient of a request of Amenhotep III to dispatch what possibly may be read as "Kashkean people" to Egypt (who at the time of letter 31 had already been received by the Egyptian Pharaoh), is intriguing.[16] As the letter in question is written in Hittite ("Nesian"), it is difficult for the Akkadian cuneiformist to grapple linguistically with the text. The word Ka-aš-ka-aš (Kashkeans?) does appear clearly, however, in line 25 and the translation may be valid. If this translation is allowed to stand, line 25 of EA 31 could be construed as reflecting events related to the "Kuruštama" treaty. Such a conclusion would reinforce the existing data discussed which see the first Egyptian-Hittite accord as having been ratified early in Šuppiluliuma's reign (e.g., the period of Arzawa's independence).

Also having a significant bearing on the problem of dating the peace treaty is a letter from Šuppiluliuma to Akhenaten (EA 41) which points back to previous years when friendly relations existed between the Hittite king and Pharaoh's father (Amenhotep III).[17] Whatever else may be said on dating the so-called "Kuruštama" treaty, one fact thus stands out: the "Kuruštama" treaty originated during the dawning of the

Amarna Age when the two reigns of Šuppiluliuma and Amenhotep III overlapped each other.

Šuppiluliuma's Foreign Policy Toward Egypt

From the Hittite state archives a small fragment has been recovered which mentions Kuruštama, Ḫatti, and Egypt (*KBo*, VIII, 37).[18] Unfortunately, the text is too small and fragmentary to yield information on whether or not it is an extant portion of the "Kuruštama" treaty. There is, however, a further Hittite text (*KUB*, XXXI, 121 [+] 121a)[19] which may be placed alongside the "Plague Prayers" and the "annals of Šuppiluliuma" as having value in illuminating the "regulation" contained in the international treaty under discussion. Like the "Plague Prayers" this text too is a prayer by Muršili II, and like the "Plague Prayers" with its stress on a border region between Egypt and Ḫatti, the prayer in question speaks about a boundary between these two countries:

> I (Muršili II) did not concern myself with the boundaries which were set for us by the Storm-god. Those boundaries which my father left me, those boundaries [I kept]. I d[id not w]ant [anything] from him (the king of Egypt), [nor did I take] any territory of his country.

Since it has been concluded that the "Kuruštama" treaty was ratified early in Šuppiluliuma's reign, when there was no need for delineating a boundary line between the two powers,[20] Muršili's reference to boundaries seems puzzling. The answer to the problem of how Šuppiluliuma came to recognize an established bounds to Egyptian interest in North Syria best may be explained by a look at the viewpoints of the states involved in Syrian politics: (1) Ḫatti, (2) Mitanni, (3) the vassal states of Syria, and (4) Egypt.

Appendix II (8)

1. Šuppiluliuma and Egyptian interests in Syria. Šuppiluliuma's attitude toward the general region west and south of the Euphrates is brought into sharp focus by a study of the situation at Qadeš (present-day Tell Nebī Mendū). From of old, Qadeš had been the ally of Mitanni in opposition to Egypt; this is especially clear in the annals of Thutmose III when Qadeš headed a coalition of three hundred thirty Asiatic princes in opposing that Pharaoh at Megiddo.[21] However, with the victory of Thutmose III over Qadeš and the subsequent alliance between Egypt and Mitanni (under Thutmose IV and so continuing under Amenhotep III and Akhenaten), Qadeš came to be a key bastion in central Syria of both Egyptian official suzerainty and Mitannian influence.[22] Nevertheless, when the Hittites were fast eclipsing Mitanni as a potential suzerain of the North Syrian states, Šuppiluliuma not only upbraided the Egyptians for intruding into the area of Qadeš, but also went so far as to claim that he took away Qadeš from the king of Ḫurri land (= Mitanni)![23] However surprising this statement may be in view of the Amarna correspondence indicating the status of Qadeš as a vassal of Egypt (cf. EA 189-190), it was an assertion consistent with the Hittite view that the region of ᶜAmqi, which lay just to the south of Qadeš in the Liṭāni Valley, formed the northern border of Egyptian suzerainty (cf. the "Plague Prayers").

Significantly, Hittite documents pertaining to Šuppiluliuma's conquest of North Syria speak of the conqueror's main enemy as Tušratta of Mitanni, not Egypt. According to PD, Nos. 1 and 2, the Hittite military push southward which established the southernmost limits of Ḫatti's empire at "Mt. Niblani" (the Lebanon) was to fulfill the goal of undermining Mitanni's sphere of influence: "Because of king Tušratta's presumptuousness (*i.e.*, Mitanni's aggression) I raided all these countries" (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 46-47). Again in *KUB*, XIX, 9 Ḫattušili III many years later speaks of this same campaign as accomplishing the conquest of "all the Ḫurri lands." Not until it is learned that the boundary was fixed "on yon side, (at) the land of Qadeš (and) the land of Amurru" is the braggadocio, reminiscent of Merneptah's boastful "Hymn of Victory," allowed to mar the text with the claim that the king of Egypt had been vanquished. In light of the foregoing, it must have been more than coincidental that the later Egyptian-Hittite treaty in the days of Ramses II also assumed a border just south of Qadeš, Egyptian hegemony being recognized in Palestine and the Phoenician coastal lands, Hittite hegemony in North Syria.[24]

It hardly can be overlooked that the northern boundary of Canaan as given in Numbers 34:7-9 is strikingly analogous to this very same boundary line.[25] Apparently the northern reaches of the Egyptian province of *P3 knᶜn* (Canaan) seemingly served as a limit, as far as Hittite foreign policy was concerned, for Egypt's Asiatic Empire.

2. *Mitannian state policy toward Syria*. If the Hittites clearly questioned Egypt's right to rule in North Syria, what then were the feelings of Mitanni? The foreign policy of Tušratta toward North Syria also seems to have been based on the premise that Egyptian suzerainty over Asia ended at the northern bounds of Canaan. Egypt's acquiescence to this overt policy is illustrated by a Mitannian military operation during the days of Abdi-Aširta of Amurru. The army of Tušratta and the lords of the Ḫurrian league descended so far south as

to frighten the Egyptian regent of Byblos (EA 85:51-55, 64). Yet when Abdi-Aširta died, Egypt was still so favorably disposed toward her "ally" Mitanni as to send a "payment" (EA 101:5-10).

It has been a source of wonderment as to why Mitanni--a supposed ally of Egypt--would embark on an expedition which, on the face of it, violated Syrian territories in vassalage to Egypt.[26] The answer is to be found not only in the deteriorating international situation (as discussed in Chapter Two), but also in the stipulations of a special treaty concluded between Amenhotep III and Tušratta. In a letter referring to that treaty (the celebrated Ḫurrian epistle, EA 24), it is learned that Tušratta asked permission from Amenhotep III to send his army into Egyptian territory (Col. I:102-103)[27] and that the king of Mitanni expected a large sum of money from Egypt (Col. II:53-54). What is even more intriguing, however, is the reference which Tušratta makes to a division of spheres of influence. In a broken passage, the text reads: ". . . dividing the land of Ḫurri with one another, and the land of Egypt, to one this, to the other that . . ." (Col. II:68-69).[28] Having observed that Šuppiluliuma was cognizant of a definitive division between Ḫurri land and Egypt, the text just quoted may safely be considered as a reference to that same boundary line (i.e., the northern limits of Canaan). Because of the similarity of what is described in EA 24 and what is known of Tušratta's advance into Syria (i.e., both cases are concerned with a Mitannian army in Egyptian territory followed by an Egyptian payment to Mitanni), it seems probable that the celebrated Ḫurrian letter reflects the political situation when Tušratta laid claim to all territories in North Syria preparatory to his war against the Hittites.

3. *Syrian states and their suzerain*. The letters from North Syria indicate that Egyptian control over that area was extremely tenuous. When Addu-nirari, king of Nuḫašše, wrote to Akhenaten (EA 51), the Syrian prince had to refer back to the remote age of Thutmose III in order to remind Pharaoh of the days when Egypt asserted her will upon Syria.[29] In a similar vein the citizens of Tunip spoke about not receiving a messenger from Egypt for some twenty years (EA 59:13-14, 43-46). Nowhere in these Amarna Age missives is there a reference to the presence of Egyptian garrisons north of Canaan and Amurru. The impression received from the sources is that Egypt's double administration of government (consisting of local feudal princes [*ḫazannū*] and Egyptian commissioners [*rabiṣū*]) was unable to maintain itself north of the Liṭāni Valley and the Phoenician coastal lands. It is an impression supported by the fact that Egypt's high commissioner for hither Asia (Yanḫamu) is nowhere seen having authority extending beyond the limits of Canaan and Amurru.[30]

4. *Egypt's claim on North Syria*. Pharaoh's official title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" in contrast to the regnal titles of Mesopotamian rulers "King of the four quarters of the earth" indicates that Egypt's foreign policy aimed at strengthening and securing the frontiers. Egypt sought overlordship rather than domination and total annexation. Seen in this light, it may be concluded that Amenhotep III gave Tušratta some sort of *carte blanche* concerning the defense of North Syria. Apparently Egypt would continue its hold upon Canaan-Amurru and its treaty ties with such kingdoms as Ugarit, but the defender of North

Syria would be recognized as Tušratta of Mitanni. Only by such speculation can the available facts make at least some sense.

A key to the understanding of Hittite foreign policy in northern Syria is thus unraveled. It was a policy which gave recognition to the spheres of influence established by the Amenhotep III-Tušratta accord. It opened the way for Šuppiluliuma to extend his suzerainty over the North Syrian states while still living up to the stipulations and solemn oaths of the Egyptian-Hittite ("Kuruštama") covenant. That Egypt at least tacitly recognized the legitimacy of Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Syria as not a declaration of war is indicated by EA 44 which reflects friendly relations between Egypt and Ḫatti even after the famed Hittite's "great Syrian" campaign.[31]

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX II

[1] There are several Plague Prayers. The one referred to throughout the present study is known as the Second (*KUB*, XIV, 8). Cf. the remarks of H. G. Güterbock, "Mursili's account of Suppiluliuma's dealings with Egypt," *RHA*, 18 (1960), p. 57.

[2] The treaty refers to the former covenant twice. Cf. J. Wilson's translation in *ANET*, pp. 198 and 200.

[3] See Wilson's introduction to the "Treaty Between the Hittites and Egypt," *ANET*, p. 198.

[4] Cf. the observations of Goetze in *JCS*, 11 (1957), p. 58; George E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, 1955), p. 32. Two fundamental works dealing with the Hittite treaties from a legal point of view are V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer juristischen Wertung* (*Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien*, LX, 1931) and Dennis J. McCarthy, S.J., *Treaty and Covenant* (Rome, 1963).

[5] So also Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[6] H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as Told by His Son Muršili II," *JCS*, 10 (1956), p. 98.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] From fragment 33 of the annals it is learned that Šuppiluliuma had to deal with the Kashkeans (again) after the siege of Kargamiš. It was while on this campaign that Šuppiluliuma heard that his son Zannanza was murdered by the Egyptians; *ibid.*, p. 108.

[9] *Ibid.* See especially fragment 10, pp. 63-64; for a transcription and translation of *KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 6-15, cf. A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (Yale Oriental Series, Researches 22, 1940), pp. 21-24.

[10] Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 98. Evidently Egyptian-Hittite friendship went back to the days of Thutmose III, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II, art. 485.

[11] The Amarna letters together with the international archives of Ugarit and Boghazkoy amply illustrate the international mores of the area of the ancient world under discussion. For an excellent capsule of the legal diplomacy, cf. V. Korošec, "International Relations According to the Cuneiform Reports from the Tell al-Amarna and Hittite State Archives," *Zbornik znanstvenih razprav*, 23 (1950), pp. 390-397.

[12] Of Šuppiluliuma's five known Syrian campaigns, the last four, beginning with the "great Syrian" campaign, undoubtedly occurred after

Footnotes to Appendix II (2)

the Kuruštama treaty, while the first military venture of Šuppiluliuma into Syria ended in a humiliating defeat at the hands of Mitanni. This first venture into Syria was certainly not an auspicious event which would warrant an international treaty of the type discussed here.

[13] It is Güterbock's belief that boundary regulations were set forth in the Kuruštama treaty, RHA, 18 (1960), p. 61. However, compare the discussion given by the present study.

[14] So it is understood from a study of the Amarna correspondence (EA 161:47-53) and the Hittite feudal treaties. Cf. the comments of V. Korošec, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-394.

[15] For this dating of the Arzawa letters to the early career of Šuppiluliuma, cf. O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 28. The arguments for this date were first drawn to the writer's attention by Professor Güterbock during one of his class lectures (1957). Although the ruler of Arzawa is not addressed as "brother" in EA 31, a term which would have acknowledged the equality of this kinglet with that of the mighty Pharaoh, the very act of corresponding with Egypt was--for Arzawa--tantamount to a declaration of independence. Hence the Amarna evidence confirms the Hittite sources which speak of the independence of Arzawa, and is to be dated to the same period.

[16] So inferred by the translation rendered by E. Cavaignac, *Le problème hittite* (Paris, 1936), p. 28; also E. Forrer, *Forschungen* II, p. 21f.; and the comments of A. Malamat, *VT*, 5 (1955), pp. 5-6.

[17] Cf. M. B. Rowton in "Chronology: Egypt; Western Asia; Aegean Bronze Age," *CAH*, I, Chap. VI, Rev. ed., Fascicle 4 (1962), p. 46, n. 1.

[18] Cf. Güterbock, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 62, n. 6.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-61.

[20] Cf. *supra*, n. 12. As already seen, the Kuruštama treaty was concluded between Amenhotep III and Šuppiluliuma prior to Šuppiluliuma's successful invasion of Syria.

[21] The "annals" of Thutmose III, lines 20-25, *ANET*, p. 235; Gebel Barkal Stela, *ibid.*, p. 238.

[22] EA 189 and 190 indicate that Qadeš was traditionally a vassal of Egypt. Šuttarna, prince of Qadeš during the early Amarna years, bears a name quite similar to those of other Mitannian princes of Indo-Aryan type; cf. R. T. O'Callaghan, S.J., *Aram Naharaim* (Rome, 1948), p. 57.

[23] Güterbock, *JCS*, 10 (1956), p. 97 and note "m"; ". . . the man of Kinza whom I had taken away from the king of the Ḫurri land" (Colophon of A, 7th Tablet, E, IV).

Footnotes to Appendix II (3)

[24] The alliance mentions no effective frontier between the empires of Egypt and Ḫatti but spheres of influence were recognized; cf. J. Wilson in *ANET*, p. 199.

[25] For scholarly opinion on the northern boundary of Canaan see: I. J. Gelb, *JCS*, 15 (1961), p. 42; B. Maisler, *BASOR*, 102 (1946), p. 9; A. F. Rainey, *IEJ*, 13 (1963), pp. 43-45; J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1959), pp. 100-101.

[26] Cf. the discussion in the present study, Chap. Two; also the same chapter, n. 45.

[27] Written in Ḫurrian, an obscure language, EA 24 has not been definitively translated. Cf. the comments of S. A. B. Mercer, *The Tell El-Amarna Tablets* (Toronto, 1939), p. 96; C. J. Gadd, "The Tell el-Amarna Tablets," *PEQ* (1940), p. 121. See also E. A. Speiser, "Introduction to Hurrian," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XX (1941).

[28] The land of *Ḫurwuḫe* and the land of *Mašrianni* are to be understood as the land of Ḫurri and the land of Egypt. Compare Col. IV: 127-128 which reads: *Tušrat[tan] KUR Ḫurwuḫe ewirni*, "Tusraṭta lord of the land of Ḫurri" and *Immurian KUR Mašrianni ewirni*, "*Nb-m3^{c}t-R^c* (Amenhotep III) lord of the land of Egypt." *Ḫurw-oḫe* is the gentilic form of *Ḫurri*; *ewri* is Ḫurrian for "lord;" *-ni* is the singular definite suffix. In the same letter *Immuria* is called *Nimmuria* (Col. I:84) and *Mašrianni* as *Mizir* (Col. I:62). In regard to the name Egypt it may be noted that an inscription of Shalmaneser III spells the name of Egypt as *Muṣuruna* while a majority of Assyrian inscriptions give the name as *Musri/Muṣur/Muṣuri*. Cf. H. Tadmor, "Que and Muṣri," *IEJ*, 11 (1961), pp. 143 and 148, n. 30. See also *supra*, n. 27.

[29] For the conclusion that EA 51 was addressed to Akhenaten, see Chap. III. Addu-nirari calls Pharaoh's attention to the time when Thutmose III, "your ancestor" (*manaḫpi[r]ya*) established the royal dynasty of Nuḫašše. In lines 7-8 is found the phrase: "He whom the king of Egypt has made king, and poured oil upon his head shall no one overthrow."

[30] See Chap. Five, n. 43.

[31] Cf. the discussion in Chap. Five sub "The Hittites in central Syria."

APPENDIX III

THE ṢIDON VISIT OF AMENHOTEP III

The Chronological Problem of EA 85

In EA 85:69-73 Rib-Haddi[1] of Byblos (*Gubla*) writes to Pharaoh: "Since thy father returned from Ṣidon (to Egypt)--since that time--the lands have sided with the ^{c}*Apiru*."[2] Who was the Pharaoh to whom Rib-Haddi was writing and who was Pharaoh's father who is said to have gone to the north Canaanite coastal city of Ṣidon? To answer these questions is to answer the question as to not only (1) the time as to when Syria ("the lands" contiguous to Byblos) began to defy the authority of the Egyptian crown, but also (2) the approximate date as to when a Mitannian foray into North Syria took place (which is reported in the same letter, lines 51-55). The chronological implications as to whom letter 85 was addressed takes an even wider dimension when it is further realized (as will be indicated) that (3) the question of whether or not Akhenaten had a coregency with his father Amenhotep III is also involved. In addition, the likely probability of (4) a chronological relationship between Mitanni's military activities and that of a subsequent major invasion into Syria by Šuppiluliuma is also of pertinence. The identity of the Pharaoh who returned from Ṣidon to Egypt is thus of utmost importance. To answer that question correctly is to shed a good deal of welcomed light on the chronology of this period.

Appendix III (2)

While this is not the place to go into the coregency question (the reader is referred to Appendix VII), it may be observed that scholars who discredit the hypothetical coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten have tended to conclude that the recipient of letter 85 was Amenhotep III whose father, Thutmose IV, would then be the visitor to Ṣidon. To do otherwise would seemingly fly in the face of lines 61-63 of Rib-Haddi's letter 116, which has been traditionally translated (so in both J. A. Knudtzon's Die El-Amarna-Tafeln and S. A. B. Mercer's The Tell el-Amarna Tablets) to imply that Amenhotep III never went forth to inspect his Asiatic provinces. On the other hand, those who adhere to the view that there was a coregency see Akhenaten as the Pharaoh addressed in EA 85; the reference to "thy father" they accept to be Amenhotep III.[4] To do otherwise, in face of their synchronic stance, would appear to strain credulity; especially since the figure of Thutmose IV is far removed in time (by three decades at the minimum) from the period of the Amarna letters.

The question as to the identity of the royal visitor to Ṣidon may be answered in favor of a coregency point of view if it can be demonstrated: (1) that Amenhotep III did indeed visit northern Canaan, and (2) that the Mitannian foray spoken of in letter 85 did take place in the reign of Akhenaten. To date the Mitannian foray within the reign of Akhenaten is, of course, to identify "thy father" unequivocably as Amenhotep III. Leaving aside the relationship EA 85 may have with the coregency question, it remains for these two considerations to be demonstrated. The immediate discussion will center upon the contention that it was Amenhotep III who visited Ṣidon.

Appendix III (3)

Rib-Haddi's Career Measured Against the History of Amurru

In order to arrive at a date for EA 85, one ideally would wish to clarify Rib-Haddi's time within the Amarna years and then to narrow down the time as to when he wrote the letter in question. Fortunately it is possible to compare synchronically his career with the comparatively well-known activities of the rulers of Amurru who span the Amarna years. Measured against the history of Amurru, Rib-Haddi's tenure in office falls into three phases: (1) his early rule in Byblos when Amenhotep III sent troops to quell the trouble being caused by Abdi-Aširta of Amurru, this period being mentioned in the Rib-Haddi correspondence only in retrospect; (2) a further period of trouble reflected in contemporary Amarna letters and occurring while Abdi-Aširta still was active; and (3) further difficulties with Abdi-Aširta's successor, Aziru, until Rib-Haddi finally disappears from view.

Within the third chronological phase, the letters addressed by Rib-Haddi to Pharaoh contain a number of references to the father of the recipient of the letters. For example, letter 132, written very late in Rib-Haddi's career,[5] contains an urgent reminder to Pharaoh (lines 10-18): "Formerly Abdi-Aširta opposed me, and I wrote to thy father. . . . Did they not take Abdi-Aširta, with all his possession, to [him]?"[6] It may be safely gathered from these lines that Abdi-Aširta was at one time forcibly made to submit to the yoke of the preceding Pharaoh; the implication being (however figurative the language may be) that Abdi-Aširta was captured and physically brought before the presence of Pharaoh. The recipient of letter 132, ruling during the last phase of Rib-Haddi's career, was surely Akhenaten. The preceding Pharaoh who acted against the rebellious Abdi-Aširta was undoubtedly Amenhotep III. Since only a final portion of this latter Pharaoh's thirty-eight-year rule extended within the period of the Amarna letters, it would hardly be likely that Amenhotep III's predecessor, Thutmose IV, was the Pharaoh who intervened between two Asiatic antagonists still found to be politically active over three decades later in the Amarna years! The fact that the end of Rib-Haddi's tenure in office (the time of letter 132) can be successfully tied to Akhenaten's reign[7] militates against the possibility that it is Thutmose IV who is referred to as being involved against Abdi-Aširta.

The situation presented in letter 85, while noticeably in the same vein as in EA 132, (*e.g.*, that of harking back to events under the king's father) is not quite analogous, as the reference to the royal visit to Ṣidon was made during the preceding phase of Rib-Haddi's life, prior to the emergence of Aziru as the dominating chieftain of Amurru. Nevertheless, the similarity of Rib-Haddi's reminiscence is striking. Both letters contain the retrospective view that it was *the* former Pharaoh who aggressively had acted in Asiatic affairs.

Due to a better understanding of the subtlety of meaning found in the texts of these ancient letters, additional weight has recently been given to the as yet tenuous probability that it was Amenhotep III who intervened in Asia. In letter 116, written well into Rib-Haddi's "third phase" (while Akhenaten was on the Egyptian throne),[8] the prince of Byblos affirms the fact that Amenhotep III did indeed visit his Syrian provinces! The independent observations of W. E. Moran, S.J., W. Helck, and the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (hereafter *CAD*) all agree that lines 61-63 of letter 116 read: *amur abuka la aṣī [u] la idagal* *mātāti [u] ḫazannīsu*, "Behold thy father, did he not go forth and inspect the lands and his regents with his own eyes?"[9] Letter 132 spoke of the earlier Pharaoh as having the troublesome Amorite chieftain Abdi-Aširta brought to him as a captive. Letter 116 further states that this former Pharaoh took an active hand in thwarting would-be conspiratorial elements within Canaan. The inference to be drawn is obvious. If Amenhotep III embarked upon a personal show of strength along the Mediterranean littoral, then his name cannot be easily disassociated from the Ṣidon visit.[10]

The proposal that it was Amenhotep III who visited Ṣidon is further supported through an assessment of evidence other than that which just has been presented. The Mitannian foray referred to in the letter under question (EA 85:51-55) is known to have occurred as a prelude to Šuppiluliuma's victorious invasion of Syria.[11] Closely associated in time with the conqueror's "great Syrian" campaign, Tušratta's show of strength cannot be removed too far from that event--possibly no more than the previous year.[12] Since the present study has given reasons for positing Šuppiluliuma's overwhelming invasion into Syria late in Akhenaten's reign, probably about that Pharaoh's year thirteen,[13] one hardly can escape the conclusion that the Mitannian foray also took place late in Akhenaten's reign. Even if the two events are to be separated by several years, Tušratta's military campaign into Syria still would have to be placed within the reign of the "heretical" Pharaoh.[14] It thus becomes almost a certainty that letter 85 was authored at a time when Akhenaten long had been on the throne. Needless to say, the reference to Pharaoh's father (lines 69-71) again is to be seen identified as Amenhotep III.

EA 85 and Amarna Age History

Letter 132 is obviously to be interpreted as implying that Abdi-Aširta forcibly was brought to the very presence of Amenhotep III [only to be later released (after undoubtedly having sworn an oath of allegiance)].[15] Clearly, this monarch was at one point to be found with an army beyond the bounds of Egypt.[16] If such an action took place at a time not too distant from the Amarna years, other references within the Amarna correspondence should be expected to crop up relating to this important event.

The intelligence of a Canaanite insurrection bordering on open revolt against Amenhotep III, reported in retrospect in EA 9,[17] indicates that there was a need during the dawning years of the Amarna Age for an Egyptian show of strength in hither Asia. Also to be considered is the rare chronological datum provided in letter 59. Here the citizens (*mārē*) of Tunip reported to Pharaoh (Akhenaten)[18] that their city had not received a messenger from Egypt for some twenty years (EA 59: 13-14, 43-46). Given the fact that EA 59 was written toward the very end of the Amarna era, when the "citizens" and not the king ("Aziru") were in command of the North Syrian city of Tunip,[19] it is tempting to believe that the last contact Tunip received from Egypt may have been at the very time when Abdi-Aširta was forcibly escorted to the presence of Amenhotep III. It may even be speculated that the state visit to the north Canaanite port city of Ṣidon furnished the appropriate occasion for the royal visitor to have reestablished Egypt's political suzerainty over Abdi-Aširta's cities, among which, likely as not, was Tunip. That Tunip's last contact with Egypt coincided with both the (1) state visit to Ṣidon and (2) the ephemeral capture of Abdi-Aširta is admittedly a moot point. There can be no question, however, that the time span of twenty years reaches back to the reign of Amenhotep III and does suggest a time when that Pharaoh took a more active participation in Asiatic affairs.

A chronological implication. Of crucial chronological significance is the fact that it was not until after Pharaoh's visit to Ṣidon that Egypt's position in Syria became precarious. As Rib-Haddi literally puts it, it is since the Ṣidon visit that "the lands have been made into ᶜApiru," or as the CAD would phrase the idiom: "the lands 'have sided with' the ᶜApiru."[20] The Canaanite, North Syrian city-states had always smarted under the Egyptian yoke, but it was not until sometime during the latter half of Amenhotep III's long reign that the vassal states openly defied the crown. Such a state of affairs, as pictured by Rib-Haddi, would be difficult to accept as credible if posited as early as during the reign of Thutmose IV. Amenhotep III inherited an empire then at its zenith, a power that dominated the Mediterranean world. It is only with the arrival of the final years of Amenhotep III and the reign of Akhenaten that an observable crumbling of Egypt's administrative powers over her Asiatic provinces took place. It is only during the Amarna years that a political withdrawal of large population groups from their obligations to Egyptian suzerainty is seen in the extant sources.

Appendix III (8)

Following in the wake of Amenhotep III's weakening grasp on Egyptian interest in Syria, at a time when the international situation was in rapid flux, Akhenaten ascended the throne. It was at this most critical point in Egyptian history that he chose to neglect foreign affairs, to concentrate on initiating a curious religious upheaval within the Nile Valley. Meanwhile, on the northern flanks of the empire, armed forces of Mitanni and Ḫatti were set in motion which were to bring about a collapse of Egypt's political position in Syria.

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX III

[1] The correct spelling of this name is pointed out by Ronald Youngblood, BASOR, 168 (1962), p. 25; he translated the name as "The Compensation of Hadad."

[2] Following the translation given by W. F. Albright and W. L. Moran, "Rib-Adda of Byblos and the Affairs of Tyre (EA 89)," JCS, 4 (1950), p. 168. Cf. CAD, Vol. E, p. 235. For a definition of the term ᶜApiru/SA.GAZ see Appendix IV.

[3] Cf., for example, A. Malamat, "Campaigns of Amenhotep III and Thutmose IV to Canaan," Scripta Hierosolymitana, VIII (Jerusalem, 1961), p. 230, n. 38; also Campbell, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

[4] Most recently by K. A. Kitchen in his book, Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs, p. 20.

[5] Several factors are of assistance in dating EA 132 to a time well within the Amarna years. The letter was written after Aziru had occupied Ṣumur and after Yanḫamu retired to the Egyptian court. The chronological criteria which date Yanḫamu's retirement as occurring late in Rib-Haddi's career are discussed in Chap. Five, n. 46.

[6] A similar refrain is also dated to this third phase in EA 108: 28-33, with which cf. EA 117:27-33. The translation here follows the suggestion of W. F. Moran as given in Campbell, op. cit., p. 87, n. 51. The syntax indicates a rhetorical question, agreeing with the tone set in lines 25ff. of EA 108: "Who are they, the dogs, that they should resist the archers of the king, the sungod?" See also infra, n. 16.

[7] Cf. supra, n. 5.

[8] Letter 116 is to be dated to the time of EA 132 (supra, n. 5), a period after Aziru's capture of Ṣumur (EA 116:8-12). Aziru's prominence in the Amarna materials came at a point well within Akhenaten's reign; cf. especially Chap. Five and Appendix V.

[9] CAD, Vol. D, p. 21 renders these same lines: "See, did your father not go and see (his) provinces and his governors with his own eyes?" The translation of the present study adheres more closely to the rendering of W. L. Moran, "A Syntactical Study of the Dialect of Byblos as Reflected in the Amarna Tablets," (Unpublished dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1950), p. 171. Cf. H. W. Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 174.

[10] J. A. Knudtzon's outdated translation of lines 61-63 has been in the past a misleading factor. Following Knudtzon, Mercer translates: "Verily, thy father did not march forth, nor inspect the lands and his

regents." By accepting this mistranslation of the text, historians have been led to believe that Amenhotep III remained in Egypt throughout his reign. Needless to say, this interpretation is no longer tenable.

[11] See Chap. Two sub "The Mitannian Counterattack."

[12] If Tušratta's Syrian razzia took place in the spring of the year--the usual campaign season (II Sam. 11:1)--Šuppiluliuma's retaliatory military moves probably took place a year later, see the final paragraphs of Chapter Two; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, p. 32.

[13] See Chap. Three; also *infra*, n. 14.

[14] According to the Ugaritic evidence Niqmaddu II remained a vassal of Egypt up to at least Akhenaten's sixth to ninth regnal year, while Amarna sources indicate that Aššur-uballiṭ did not free Assyria from servitude to Mitanni until sometime within Akhenaten's last years. Since Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign severed Niqmaddu II's political ties with Egypt and caused Assyria to break away from vassalage to Mitanni, the Hittite invasion into Syria is difficult to date prior to Akhenaten's year twelve. Even if the Mitannian foray is to be dated eleven years previous to the "great Syrian" campaign (which is very unlikely), that foray would still be dated to Akhenaten's reign. Cf. the discussion in Chapters Two and Three.

[15] Abdi-Aširta's activity did not end with his capture; he was finally slain by the hands of his own countrymen. Cf. the "new" translation of EA 101:3-6 as given by T. O. Lambdin: "Behold, the ships of the mišī (*i.e.*, the Egyptian troops) are not to enter the land of the Amorites. For they (the Amorites) have killed Abdi-Aširta," *JCS*, 7 (1953), p. 75.

[16] It would not seem improbable for Amenhotep III to have established his headquarters in Ṣidon for the duration of such a show of force in light of the retrospect details of Abdi-Aširta's capture, EA 108:28-33; 117:27-33; 132:10-18; letter 362 (Mercer no. 129*a*). There Rib-Haddi reminds Akhenaten (lines 9-20): "If the king, my lord, will not send archers, then we will be dead, and the towns of Byblos will be captured. When previously they (Abdi-Aširta together with his sons) said 'There are no archers,' then I wrote and the archers went forth and took their father" (*LÚ Abašunu*); but provisionally translated here not as "name" but as a personified cliche applying to Abdi-Aširta. As an analogy to *LÚ Abašunu*, cf. EA 91:3-5 where Abdi-Aširta is called *LÚ.GAZ.MEŠ*.

[17] Burnaburiaš, king of Babylonia, writes: "From (the time of) Kurigalzu, my father, the Canaanites--all of them--wrote to him (Kurigalzu I) as follows: 'We will wage a revolt against the border of the land (of Egypt). We would establish (a covenant) with you.'" For

Footnotes to Appendix III (3)

an appraisal of Kurigalzu I's time *vis-à-vis* the Amarna years, cf. H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon* (New York, 1962), p. 80; Faisal El-Wailly, "Synopsis of Royal Sources of the Kassite Period," *Sumer*, 10 (1954), pp. 44-46; A. Goetze, "The Kassites and Near Eastern Chronology," *JCS*, 18 (1964), p. 99; cf. K. Jaritz in *MIO*, 6 (1958), pp. 187-265.

[18] As will be brought out in Chap. Five, letter 59 with its reference to Aziru (line 21) would mean that the letter is to be posited as having been written after the death of Amenhotep III, cf. *supra*, n. 8, and *infra*, n. 19.

[19] Besides the significance of the twenty-year datum itself, the dating of EA 59 hinges on the interpretation of the vicissitudes of Aziru's tenure in office. See Chap. Five sub "Aziru's release."

[20] *CAD*, sub *epešu*. For a discussion of the socio-political process involved in the *^{c}Apiru* movement, see Appendix IV.

APPENDIX IV

THE *SA.GAZ* "MOVEMENT" IN SYRIA

Identification of the SA.GAZ

In making sense out of what was happening in Syria during the Amarna Age, the somewhat misunderstood *SA.GAZ* or "^{c}*Apiru*" question needs clarification.[1] The term *SA.GAZ* (a logogram exclusively used in the Syrian "Amarna" correspondence, which is shown to have alternated in other cuneiform materials [from Alalaḫ, Boghazkoy, and Ugarit] with the syllabic writing *ḫapiru* [= ^{c}*Apiru*]) denotes a social status which has not been easy to define.[2]

In the correspondence with Pharaoh received from Syria, the term clearly is an epithet of opprobrium. A superficial reading of the texts renders the impression that here are enemies of the Egyptian crown whose territorial holdings were ever increasing (cf. EA 85:69-73). Further, it would seem that the *SA.GAZ* are to be found launching attacks against Pharaoh's regents and lands (cf. EA 76:18-19; 67:16-18). Since Rib-Haddi often uses the words "take" (*laqū*) and "seize" (*sabāṭu*) in connection with "GAZ" activity, and frequently speaks about his cities falling into the hands of the *SA.GAZ* (cf. EA 71:29-31; 76:17-20), it would seem that the prince of Byblos was referring to an attacking army pillaging the countryside.

A detailed analysis of what actually was happening, however,

Appendix IV (2)

shows an interpretation of the use of the term *SA.GAZ* which is much more consistent with both the linguistic and historic data than the superficial impression outlined in the preceding paragraph. A few observations are listed below.[3]

1. The idiom, peculiar to the Amarna letters, "to be made" *^{c}Apiru* or simply "to become" *^{c}Apiru* (*nēpušu*, passive of the verb "to do" or "to make" *epēšu*), can only mean "to have sided with" the *^{c}Apiru*.[4] To be a *SA.GAZ/^{c}Apiru* is thus to be taken as a political process.[5] An example of such a situation is given in Rib-Haddi's letter EA 74 in which he complains: "All my cities which are situated in the mountains or along the sea have sided (*innipšu*) with (*ana*) the *GAZ*-people" (lines 19-21).

2. The term *SA.GAZ* is usually treated as a collective with the determinative *LÚ.MEŠ*. This peculiarity is even retained in the rare cases when there is a reference to individuals. In letter 91 Rib-Haddi warns Pharaoh that Abdi-Aširta is an *^{c}Apiru* who is threatening Egyptian territories: "Why have you sat (back) and done nothing so that the *GAZ* man (*LÚ.GAZ.MEŠ*), the dog, takes your cities?" (lines 3-5).[6] The designation of the *SA.GAZ* as a unit even when in reference to an individual from Amurru cannot but reinforce the observation that the word is a label with a political connotation.

3. Only once is the term *SA.GAZ* the subject of a verb indicating movement, and in that one case it is a movement of troops from Ṣumur to the region in the vicinity of Byblos (EA 108:62). It is therefore safe to conclude that the *SA.GAZ* are not to be considered as a nomadic element in society.

4. In EA 67:17 there seems to be an actual definition of the term *SA.GAZ*: *i-na-an-na šú-ú-tú k[i-ma] LÚ.SA.G[A]Z.ZA.MEŠ Kalbu (UR) ḫal-qú ù iṣ-ba-at [URU Ṣu-]m[u-r]i KI*, "Now he (Aziru) is like a *SA.GAZ.ZA*, a fugitive dog, and has seized Ṣumur" (lines 17-18). Two observations may be drawn from the accusation against Aziru. First, it may be seen that the words "stray dog" (*kalbu ḫalqu*)[7] are in apposition to *SA.GAZ*, defining the latter by analogy. In this letter Aziru is accused of being like a *SA.GAZ*, that is, a stray dog who is beyond the control of his master; a regent who pays no attention to the representative of the king, nor to his normal obligations as a vassal.[8]

Secondly, the writing of *SA.GAZ.ZA* for a normative *SA.GAZ* makes it most probable that in this instance the logogram *SA.GAZ* was turned into a pseudo-logogram (where characters are to be read phonetically) for *šaggāšu*, meaning "one who is restive," an appropriate analogy for "vagrant dog."[9] The corollary of finding the phonetic complement "*tu(m)*" in another instance (*LÚ.SA.GAZ.MEŠ-tum* in EA 299:26) shows that the logogram *SA.GAZ* was at times also read *ḫabbatu(m)*, meaning "migrant" or "wanderer."[10] The term *SA.GAZ/^{c}Apiru* thus seems to be defined from the texts themselves as indicating those who had become cut loose from normative political ties; they were those without the pale of traditional relationships, the subject of taunts and puns.[11]

The SA.GAZ "Movement"

Regents such as Rib-Haddi often revealed fear of the *SA.GAZ*. They were not, however, being attacked in the classical sense of the term. Rib-Haddi described very clearly what was happening: "And the people desert ['are estranged' (*paṭāru*)] in order to take the land for themselves, and there is no one to guard Byblos, the city of the king, my lord" (EA 362:35-39). While attempting to win Pharaoh's sympathy by portraying his position as severely pressed, Rib-Haddi in all his many letters never mentions the capture of a single city by battle. Indeed, he and the other regents use the logogram *SA.GAZ* as an appellative of general slander. Rarely is the label seen to be assigned to a particular individual or a specific act of violence.[12]

When there are enough details to reconstruct just what was happening, the *SA.GAZ* "movement" emerges as a political process which has been broken down into a three-fold pattern (although it may not have always worked out in the sequence as here portrayed).[13]

1. The loss of Pharaoh's cities to the *SA.GAZ* begins when the less privileged groups of society, such as the *ḫupšu* (the feudal serfs of the Canaanite-Syrian city-states),[14] become attracted to the *SA.GAZ* cause. Rib-Haddi described the peril facing Byblos by saying, "hostility is powerful against me, and there are no provisions for the *ḫupšu* and (therefore) they desert to the sons of Abdi-Aširta, and to Ṣidon and to Beruta. . . . Behold, when the *ḫupšu* desert, then the *GAZ* seize the city" (EA 118:21-28; cf. 362:35-39; 85:40-41; 112:9-13).

The success of this type of psychological warfare in which the *ḫupšu* were courted and wooed by *SA.GAZ* elements is best seen in the description of the unconventional fall of Byblos itself (EA 138:59-68; cf. 137:57-58). To be a *SA.GAZ* is thus to be taken as a political process in which population groups (as already observed, the logogram is almost always rendered in the plural) withdraw from their obligations to the existing political regime.

2. With the establishment of sympathizers in the city-states, the people were encouraged to assassinate the regents loyal to Egypt. By this means the ḫupšu were told that they could free themselves "to side with the SA.GAZ" (cf. EA 74:31-41).[15] Assassinations or attempts at assassination which were instigated by those accused of being leading GAZ-men were reported to Pharaoh on several occasions (EA 73:25-29; 74:24-26; 75:25-27; 81:11-13).

3. Finally, the process reaches its zenith when a native regent[16] favorable to the GAZ-cause wins control over a city which has defected from Egyptian control and becomes aligned by covenant with the other GAZ elements in Syria (cf. EA 136:8-12; 137:57-58; 138:44-47). In this manner a broad resistance could be established to ward off any massive retaliation on the part of the Egyptian empire (EA 74:31-41; 91:23-25; 102:20-23).

In summary, the following historical picture may be drawn. The Egyptian commissioners (rabiṣū) in hither Asia who were empowered to appoint native regents (ḫazannū) over the various vassal cities,[17] found themselves increasingly powerless to preserve the peace between the vassal states (cf. EA 112:50-56; 115:19-22). Pharaoh apparently cared little which city was in whose hands, so long as the kinglet in question continued to pay his tribute and give assurance of his undying loyalty.[18] Abdi-Aširta and his sons were labeled SA.GAZ in the letters of the Syrian regents (EA 91:3-5; 67:17-18; 71:16-22) because they succeeded in gaining control of cities in violation of previous commitments of the Empire.[19]

Appendix IV (6)

By likening the actions of the Amorite chieftains to that of *^{c}Apiru/ SA.GAZ* bands, faithful regents like Rib-Haddi hoped to gain sympathy from Egypt.

During this period the *SA.GAZ* process gained momentum throughout many of the vassal states in Syria. At the same time Egypt became increasingly ineffectual in administering her Asiatic realm, to the point of allowing critical food shortages to develop (EA 114:16-22; 130:39-43; 86:33-39). This in turn created a more rebellious climate among the Syrian populace. Thus group after group became ripe for any exploitation of grievances against a remote overlord. It is easy to imagine, given the situation, how the *^{c}Apiru* "movement" became so volatile within Amarna Age Syria. Leading out in this political process of withdrawal were the conniving Amorite regents. It was Abdi-Aširta and his sons who while outwardly acknowledging their servitude toward Egypt, actually were the chief abettors, leading the "renegade" movement of the vassals away from the crown.

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX IV

[1] In spite of the relatively large body of material, the social status of the *ᶜApiru* has not been easy to define, as a number of monographs in the past decade testify. For recent literature on this subject, see R. Borger, "Das Problem der *ᶜapiru* ('*Ḫabiru*')," *ZDPV*, 74 (1958), pp. 121-132; Jean Bottéro, *Le problème des Ḫabiru* (Paris, 1954); Moshe Greenberg, *The Ḫab/piru* (New Haven, 1955); Mary Gray, *HUCA*, 29 (1958), pp. 135-196; W. F. Albright, "Abram the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation," *BASOR*, 163 (1961), pp. 36-54; G. E. Mendenhall, "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine," *BA*, 25 (1962), pp. 66-87.

[2] Cf. *CAD*, Vol. *Ḫ*, pp. 84-85. Cf. *supra*, n. 1.

[3] Professor Mendenhall has been quite successful in placing the socio-political connotation of the term *SA.GAZ* in vivid perspective (see Mendenhall, *loc. cit.*). Considerable use also has been made by the present writer of an unpublished paper by Dr. Mendenhall. The present study's understanding of the *SA.GAZ* question is heavily indebted to his pioneering work.

[4] Cf. *CAD*, Vol. *E*, p. 235.

[5] Mendenhall, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

[6] Cf. EA 71:16-22 where again Rib-Haddi accuses Abdi-Aširta of being a dog and a *GAZ*-man.

[7] Cf. *CAD* sub *ḫalqu*.

[8] Following the conclusions set forth by Mendenhall in an unpublished paper (cited in n. 3).

[9] See *CAD*, Vol. *Ḫ*, p. 50; and the analysis of M. Greenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 89. ". . . *SA.GAZ* is a pseudo-ideogram for *šaggāšu*. The El-Amarna writing *SA.GAZ.ZA* . . . suggested this possibility. . . . Akkadian *šaggāšu* ('destroyer', 'murderer') is far too strong for the normal character of the group. . . . since *šaggāšu* could dispense with a gloss had it carried its normal Akkadian value, the possibility suggests itself that in this case it did not have its normal value. If the name of the class in question were colored, say, with the connotations of West-Semitic **šgš* . . . it might then have carried the more appropriate meaning 'disturber', 'one who is restive'" (*ibid.*, pp. 88-89). Note in the Epic of Gilgamesh, I iv 7 where *šaggāšu* = "savage."

[10] See *CAD*, Vol. *Ḫ*, pp. 13-14, 84-85 and M. Greenberg, *ibid.*, p. 89.

[11] A lexical text from Ugariṭ grouped the *LÚ.SAG.GAZ* with the *IM.ZU* = *šarrāqu*, "thief," and with the *LÚ.GÁ.ÉŠ* = *ḫabbilu*(?), "ẹvildoer" (16.364). Some think that *LÚ.SAG.GAZ* should not be read *ᶜApiru* in this

Footnotes to Appendix IV (2)

text but rather *ḫabbātu*; cf. *CAD*, Vol. *Ḫ*, p. 14. The fact that *SA.GAZ* served as mercenaries (cf. EA 195:27 and 185, 186) does not mean that they were "citizens" of the state in which they served.

[12] There are only three instances in which a *GAZ*-man is identified by name, cf. EA 67:17; 91:3-5; 71:16-22.

[13] This breakdown follows Mendenhall's analysis (*BA*, 25 [1962], p. 78).

[14] A discussion of the status of the *ḫupšu* is given by I. Mendelsohn, "New Light on the Ḫupšu," *BASOR*, 139 (1955), pp. 9-11; "The Canaanite Term for 'Free Proletarian,'" *BASOR*, 83 (1941), pp. 36-39. Albright, with the aid of Arabic cognates, would interpret the word *ḫupšu* as meaning "lowly, humble," *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), p. 285, n. 13. Mendenhall, however, would see the term as derived from the meaning "to bind" (compare the Hebrew cognate); *ḫupšu* would then be a person bound to another (by allegiance to an oath). Information obtained orally from class discussions at the University of Michigan, 1962. Cf. *CAD*, Vol. *Ḫ*, p. 241.

[15] It is extremely interesting and possibly significant that *ḫupšu*, a word designating a "feudal serf" in Canaanite, comes to signify "free man" (*hophshī*) in Biblical Hebrew. Cf. the remarks by Mendenhall, *op. cit*., pp. 76-77.

[16] The *SA.GAZ* leaders, when they can be identified (as in EA 67:17; 91:3-5; 71:16-22), are shown to be regents of Pharaoh, not a person or group foreign to Syria. Significantly, though Abdi-Aširta and Aziru are accused of being *SA.GAZ*, they, themselves, never mention the *SA.GAZ* in their own letters!

[17] "Why has the king appointed me as a *ḫazānnu*?" (EA 125:32); "This city is not a *ḫazānnu*-city" (EA 89:41). Cf. *CAD* sub *ḫazānnu*.

[18] It is for this reason "that Rib-Addi had to assume the burden of proof in order to convince the Pharaoh that the interests of the Egyptian Empire demanded that Rib-Addi be supported against those who were wresting his cities from his control" (quoted from Mendenhall's unpublished paper referred to in note 3 [*supra*]).

[19] Cf. Mendenhall, *op. cit*., p. 78.

APPENDIX V

THE DATE OF ABDI-AŠIRTA'S DEATH

In obtaining a relative date within the Amarna years for the death of Abdi-Aširta, two questions may be asked: (1) Can Abdi-Aširta's career with its synchronic associations be a determining factor in establishing the date of Abdi-Aširta's demise? (2) What about the chronological items found in the Amarna correspondence, can they be of any help in this matter? The answer to the first question already has been obtained (see especially Chapter Five).[1] An analysis of the sources has shown that Abdi-Aširta was active during the year of the Mitannian counterattack,[2] but not during the subsequent "great Syrian" campaign.[3] A termination of Abdi-Aširta's tenure in office at a juncture between Tušratta's war and Šuppiluliuma's famed Syrian invasion therefore has been accepted as a working hypothesis. A look at the chronological items found in the Amarna correspondence should either strengthen such a hypothesis or seriously weaken it.

Three Chronological Items

Three chronological items supply a basis for a somewhat accurate placement of both Abdi-Aširta's death and of Aziru's subsequent activities within the Amarna years.

1. The five years. By far the most important of these items is Rib-Haddi's complaint of having suffered five years of hostility

(EA 106:17). The point in time at which the five years ended is not difficult to determine. The letter in which the complaint is found (EA 106) fortunately touches on a whole range of topics. At the moment when the letter was written Aziru is pictured as having had renewed his father's pressure on Byblos, placing a stranglehold upon Ṣumur (lines 8-9).[4] Also obtained from the same letter is the information that Yanḫamu, Pharaoh's commissioner for Canaan, had retired and was now to be found at the Egyptian court as "the Fan-bearer of the king" (muṣalil šarri).[5] Since Yanḫamu is known to have been active at his post in Canaan during Tušratta's Syrian foray (EA 85:23-24; 86:15-16),[6] Yanḫamu's retirement can hardly be said to antedate Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign (which probably came a year after the Mitannian war).[7] The reference to Yanḫamu in retirement, taken alone, thus already would indicate that the five-year datum probably terminated well into the Amarna years. Having an even greater chronological value, however, is the letter's reference to the assassination of a rabiṣ in Ṣumur (EA 106:21-22). Clearly, the other Rib-Haddi letters discussing this same tragic event, coupled with similar references to Yanḫamu in retirement at the court, are of use in fixing the chronological milieu of EA 106. A study of these contemporary missives (EA 129, 131, 132, and 362) establishes that the slain rabiṣ (Pawūra by name)[8] met his fate sometime after Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign (time of Biryawaza), but before the final Amarna years (Rib-Haddi had not yet fled to Beruta, nor was Abimilki yet the ruler of Tyre).[9]

In short, the five years of hostility against Byblos extended to a time after Ḫatti had defeated Mitanni. But when did these years of hostility begin?

2. The three years. A second chronological item, given in an earlier letter (EA 85) in which Tušratta's Syrian foray was reported, possibly furnishes a terminus ante quem for the five-year period in question. During this former occasion Rib-Haddi was beset by Abdi-Aširta (lines 63-66). Along the same vein as his enumeration of the years of hostility encountered in EA 106, Rib-Haddi complained: "Behold three times, these years, he stood against me and two years I measure my grain" (EA 85:8-10).[10] In a parallel letter, EA 86, which in some instances duplicates EA 85, the phrase reads: "Behold three years I measure our grain" (lines 38-39).[11] Obviously Rib-Ḫaddi was all too aware of the years in which Byblos had to ration its food supply because of the enmity of Abdi-Aširta and his allies. The five years of hostility presumably, then, would encompass the entire period of fierce political conflict which began some two (or three?) years prior to the outbreak of the Mitannian war (the terminus ante quem). A terminus post quem for the five-year datum, which must of course extend into the period of Aziru's hostility, would fall about a year (or two?) after the initiation of Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign.[12]

3. A further three-year period. A third chronological item, though found in a badly preserved text (EA 52), nevertheless may be added to the historical picture. Akizzi of Qaṭna, who did not come to the throne until after the first ᶜAmqi attack,[13] wrote to Akhenaten that he was concerned with--an undetermined matter(?)--for three years (EA 52:36). It is most probable that these three years reached back in

time to when the Hittites took (as ransom) the gods of Qaṭna (lines 42-43; cf. EA 55:42-43, 56-57).[14] If Šuppiluliuma's year-long Syrian conquest occurred in Akhenaten's thirteenth year, then the Qaṭna correspondence accordingly would be initiated three years later in that Pharaoh's sixteenth year.[15] While admittedly somewhat tenuous, the picture obtained from such a chronological reconstruction fits in well with what has already been determined. Rib-Haddi's five-year datum does seem to terminate at a time when Aziru had not yet gained Ṣumur, while Yapa-Haddi ruled Tyre, and Rib-Haddi was still residing in Byblos.[16] By the time of the letters authored by Akizzi (EA 52-57), however, the historical milieu had changed; at this later date personalities and events are in view which may only be associated with the final Amarna years (Akhenaten's sixteenth and seventeenth years, and beyond). The situation of this later era finds Aziru in control of Ṣumur, Tyre ruled by Abimilki, and Rib-Haddi in exile in Beruta.[17] The five years of EA 106 is thus shown to be delimited to the Amarna years surrounding Tušratta's war against Ḫatti.

It has been proposed in Chapter Five that Aziru's unfaithfulness to Egypt, reflected in Yanḫamu's ire (EA 171) and alluded to in the Duppi-Tešub treaty (PD, No. 5), is to be connected with the events associated with Šuppiluliuma's successful military intrusion into Syria. A study of Abdi-Aširta's activities placed his death soon after Tušratta's Syrian foray. Chronological items in the Amarna letters concur. They show Aziru succeeding his father within the last two years of a five-year period. Since that five-year period began at least two years prior to Tušratta's Syrian invasion, Aziru's accession as king of

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Amurru could only have occurred between Tušratta's war maneuvers and Šuppiluliuma's overwhelming Syrian invasion (dated to Akhenaten's thirteenth year). The additional fact that Yanḫamu is seen to have retired shortly after the latter event lends welcome support to a proposed thesis that Aziru's renewal of diplomatic relations with Egypt most probably took place in Akhenaten's thirteenth or fourteenth regnal year (compare the Table - Appendix I [page 163]).

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX V

[1] See Chap. Five sub "Aziru: heir of Abdi-Aširta."

[2] See Chap. Two sub "Tušratta's Syrian campaign and the Amarna letters," and *infra*, n. 3.

[3] Cf. Chap. Five sub "Aziru's rebellion." Abdi-Aširta is very much in prominence during Tušratta's invasion into Syria (cf. EA 90, 60, 85-86, and 95), but nothing more is then heard of him. On the other hand, a comparison of the contemporaries of Aziru (such as Abimilki, Akizzi, Ilirabiḫ, and Biryawaza) with such sources as *PD*, No. 5, lines 2-7, *KBo*, X, 13, III:4-5, and EA 171 strongly imply that Aziru ascended the stage of action just when Šuppiluliuma had initiated his year-long invasion of Syria. The fact that Abdi-Aširta was "[ver]y sick" (EA 95:41) at the time of the Mitannian counterattack is of possible chronological significance. The Amorite's helpless condition could have been a factor which resulted in his being assassinated (EA 101:5-6).

[4] Aziru is not mentioned in EA 106. However, the letter was written after Yanḫamu had retired to the court (lines 37-38; cf. Chap. Five, n. 46) and thus after Aziru had ascended to the political stage (cf. EA 171). The letter also speaks of the death of Sumur's *rabiṣ*, an event which occurred while Aziru was active (EA 132:45-46, 20).

[5] Cf. the discussion of the term *muṣalil šarri* by Albright, *JNES*, 5 (1946), p. 13; Helck, *Die Beziehungen...*, p. 259. See also Chap. Five, n. 46.

[6] EA 85 and 86 were written about the same time and deal with the same subject matter. Letter 85 was addressed to Pharaoh, whereas letter 86 was addressed to Amanappa, an Egyptian military official. Cf. Helck, *op. cit*., p. 265, n. 24, where the identity of Amanappa is discussed.

[7] See Chap. Two sub "Tušratta's Syrian campaign and the Amarna letters;" Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, p. 32.

[8] Pawūra's death is referred to in EA 129:95-97; 131:22; 132: 45-46; and 362:69. References to Yanḫamu at the Egyptian court are found in EA 127:23-24; 132:29-30; unfortunately the reference to Yanḫamu in 131:62 is not legible. The name Pawūra is actually an Egyptian expression (*p3 wr*) meaning "(foreign) chieftain," and is applied to Aitagama of Qadeš (EA 151:59; 149:30). Scholarly opinion, however, would see the Pawūra of the Byblos letters as a proper name. He was a *rabiṣ* and "royal counselor" (*malik šarri*), see EA 131:21-22. Cf. Albright, *op. cit*., p. 19; Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, p. 102.

[9] Biryawaza, *rabiṣ* of Upe, does not seem to make an appearance in the Amarna letters until after Šuppiluliuma's successful invasion of

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Syria (his contemporaries, such as Akizzi [EA 53:34], Abimilki [EA 151:62], Burnaburiaš II [EA 7:75], and the prominence which in his own correspondence he gives to the Hittites in Syria [EA 196:15-17; 197:24], all tend to confirm this assumption). It is therefore chronologically significant that EA 129, with its reference to the slain Pawūra (lines 95-97), should also mention Biryawaza (line 82). EA 129 was written by Rib-Haddi in the time of Aziru (lines 4-5) while the prince of Byblos still retained control of both his own city and that of Batruna (line 18). EA 106 with its synchronic reference to the murdered rabiṣ at Ṣumur (lines 21-22) was authored while Yapa-Haddi was still active (line 19), and thus prior to the time of Abimilki, the apparent successor to Yapa-Haddi at Tyre (see Chap. Five, n. 9).

[10] The antagonist who had cut off the food supply to Byblos seems to have been Yapa-Haddi, though it is more likely that Rib-Haddi was thinking of Abdi-Aširta, the ultimate source of his troubles.

[11] Cf. supra, n. 6.

[12] Compare the Table - Appendix I (p. 163). The five-year period, of course, can only be used in an approximate fashion.

[13] See the discussion in Chap. Three sub "The account of the campaign."

[14] Cf. Chap. Three, n. 43.

[15] The Qaṭna letters (EA 52-57) are probably all to be posited close together in time. A perusal of these letters reveals that their subject matter is quite similar. The correspondence is filled with references to the Hittites. EA 54:38-43 which speak about an Egyptian messenger is repeated word for word in EA 56:36-42. Just about all the letters harp upon the activities of Aitagama.

[16] Cf. supra, n. 9.

[17] That Rib-Haddi's exile to Beruta came in the late Amarna years, near the end of Akhenaten's reign, and in the time of the letters from Aḅimilki and Akizzi has been discussed in Chap. Three sub "The Amarna sources and the Qadeš attack."

APPENDIX VI

NIBḪURURIYA AND SYNCHRONIC HISTORY

In spite of the evidence which indicates that Pharaoh *Nibḫururiya* was Akhenaten (see Chapter Three), the historian still is faced with contemporary Hittite sources which unequivocally name Tut^{c}ankhamūn (*Nibḫururiya*) as the Pharaoh in question. An even closer look at the immediate sequence of the Amarna years therefore is offered for consideration.[1] Do the events of these years cast additional light on the identity of the Pharaoh whose death is reported in the annals of Šuppiluliuma? The following five topics are presented in an attempt to answer that question.

1. *The Three ^{c}Amqi Attacks*

The so-called "Plague Prayers" of Muršili II (*KUB*, XIV, 8)[2] list three specific and identifiable Hittite attacks against the "land of ^{c}Amqi." Just enough information is given to relate these attacks to the historical sources of the Amarna Age.

The first ^{c}Amqi attack. After mentioning a former Hittite-Egyptian agreement concerning the inhabitants of the Anatolian city of Kuruštama and the resultant treaty between the two great powers of Ḫatti and Egypt (the "Kuruštama treaty"), Muršili records the offensive military activities of his father, Šuppiluliuma, which violated that treaty:[3]

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> Although the Hattians as well as the Egyptians were under oath to the Hattian Storm-god, the Hattians ignored their obligations; the Hattians promptly broke the oath of the gods. My father sent foot soldiers and charioteers who attacked the country of Amka [^{c}Amqi], Egyptian territory.
>
> *The second ^{c}Amqi attack.*
>
> Again he sent troops, and again they attacked it. When the Egyptians became frightened, they asked outright for one of his sons to (take over) the kingship. But when my father gave them one of his sons, they killed him as they led him there.
>
> *The third ^{c}Amqi attack.*
>
> My father let his anger run away with him, he went to war against Egypt and attacked Egypt (*e.g.*, ^{c}Amqi).

Fearful that a plague (in Hittite, *hinkan* "dying") had fallen upon the Hittites as a "curse" for Šuppiluliuma's three "illegal" military incursions into the Egyptian territory of ^{c}Amqi,[4] Muršili in recording his prayers carefully identified the three treaty violations. The second violation, for example, is identified as the time when the Egyptians were in need of a new Pharaoh, which of course was the time of Pharaoh *Nibḫururiya*'s death (as reported in fuller detail in Šuppiluliuma's annals, *KBo*, V, 6, iii, 8).[5] There also is no difficulty in chronologically relating the third ^{c}Amqi attack to the sequence of events associated with Šuppiluliuma's career. Šuppiluliuma's annals (fragment 36)[6] speak of this last treaty violation as taking place while the Hittites were assisting the Mitannian prince, Mattiwaza, in subduing the country of Mitanni.

A further Hittite text from Boghazkoy (*KUB*, XIX, 9) adds to the historical perspective already obtained. In a document dating from the reign of Ḫattašili III, some sixty to eighty years after the events described in the "Plague Prayers," mention is made of the fall of

Kargamiš and a subsequent six-year Syrian war:[7]

> . . . in the land of Carchemish he [Šuppiluliuma] made Piyassilis king [*i.e.*, Kargamiš had fallen to Hittite control]. My grandfather Suppiluliuma tarried in the land of Hurri (=Mitanni) because the lands were strong (*i.e.*, refractory), and he took 6 years until he had reduced them to order.

By utilizing the three Hittite sources (the "Plague Prayers," Šuppiluliuma's annals, and the above, KUB, XIX, 9), it is seen that Šuppiluliuma waged a Syrian war that lasted six years, a war that was marked at its outset by the Hittite conquest of Kargamiš and characterized by two violations of a former Hittite-Egyptian treaty, namely, the second and third ᶜAmqi attacks. That in fact this six-year Syrian war coincides with the last six years of Šuppiluliuma's reign is made evident by a synchronism given by Muršili II. Muršili reports that he celebrated a feast at the river Māla (Euphrates)[8] in the fifteenth year of his reign, at which time he offered the "Plague Prayers." The prayers, in turn, state that it had been twenty years since the campaign of his father which avenged the death of his son who was sent to Egypt (*i.e.*, the third ᶜAmqi attack of Šuppiluliuma). It would thus appear that Šuppiluliuma died some five years after his third and last attack against ᶜAmqi,[9] and about six years after the fall of Kargamiš.

Such a deduction is independently confirmed by the annals of Šuppiluliuma which state that the "revenge" raid (or third ᶜAmqi attack) against Egypt was ordered by the Hittite monarch a year after the eight-day siege of Kargamiš. The six-year datum of KUB, XIX, 9 quoted above is thus clearly defined--the pertinent sources all testifying to the fact that the third ᶜAmqi attack is to be dated a year after the second ᶜAmqi attack and five years prior to the close of Šuppiluliuma's reign.[10]

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With the placement of the second and third ^{c}Amqi attacks within the confines of the final six-year Syrian war of Šuppiluliuma, the remaining first ^{c}Amqi attack mentioned in the "Plague Prayers" involving troops and charioteers can be hardly identified with any other campaign but the year-long "great Syrian" campaign described in the historical prologue to the Mattiwaza treaty (*PD*, Nos. 1 and 2). It was during this military campaign into Syria that Šuppiluliuma, for the first time, reached as far south as the land of Upe and "Mt. Lebanon" (*e.g.*, the ^{c}Amqi region).

Since Šuppiluliuma ordered no more than three ^{c}Amqi attacks, and since the second ^{c}Amqi attack is reported to have occurred when Tut^{c}ankhamūn died, it only can be concluded that the Hittite conqueror initiated his first ^{c}Amqi attack either in the period of the Amarna letters, or afterwards during the reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn.[11] Such a conclusion, however, is in conflict with what is known from the Amarna Age sources. The present study has shown that the first ^{c}Amqi attack fell well within the Amarna years (possibly in Akhenaten's year thirteen). A second ^{c}Amqi attack is also reported at the time of Akhenaten's death. In both the Hittite and the Amarna documents, the commander of this second razzia into the ^{c}Amqi region is named Lupakki. These same documents likewise picture the Hittite prince Zita as being in Syria at that very moment.

Since Šuppiluliuma's first attack against ^{c}Amqi was led by the famed conqueror himself and the third attack was led by his son Arnuwanda, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the second ^{c}Amqi attack led by *Lupakki* at the time of *Nibḫururiya*'s death was the same as that led by Lupakku at the time of Akhenaten's death. To posit the second ^{c}Amqi attack as an event of the post Amarna years thus is to fly in face of the evidence from the Amarna correspondence which reflects both a first and a second Hittite raid against the ^{c}Amqi border region. A study of the three ^{c}Amqi attacks therefore would equate Pharaoh Nibḫururiya as a pharaoh of the late Amarna years. That Pharaoh could have been none other than Akhenaten.

2. "Extra" Nine Years Eliminated

If the Tut^{c}ankhamūn-synchronism is accepted as valid (which would place the last six years of Šuppiluliuma's reign as being subsequent to Tut^{c}ankhamūn's death), the careers of Aziru, Šuppiluliuma, and Tušratta (among others) would be nine years longer (the length of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's reign) than that which is proposed in the present study. Are these nine years needed to make sense out of the history of this period, or do they seem unnecessary?

A study of Aziru's career (see Chapter Five) indicated that the Amorite chieftain was summoned to Egypt. According to the Amarna correspondence, Aziru was in Egypt at the time of a second Hittite attack (led by Lupakku) against ^{c}Amqi (EA 169-170). Boghazkoy documents which speak about a second Hittite attack (led by Lupakki) against ^{c}Amqi also mention that it occurred in the very year in which Kargamiš fell. The Šuppiluliuma-Aziru suzerainty treaty, which refers to the fall of Kargamiš as an event of the past (KBo, X, 13, I:17), specifically calls attention to the fact that the treaty was ratified after Aziru left Egypt. Thus both the Amarna and Boghazkoy records make it clear that Aziru was in Egypt during a second Hittite attack against ^{c}Amqi.

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If the fall of Kargamiš is to be placed in the year of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's death, it would mean that while Aziru journeyed to Egypt sometime during the final year(s) of Akhenaten's rule, his stay in that country extended the full length of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's reign. There remains nothing intrinsically against accepting such a proposition, but it does seem like a long Egyptian internment in face of the evidence (see Chapter Five) which testifies to the probability that political prisoners were set at liberty during the year of Akhenaten's death. This, then, would be a logical moment for Aziru's release from Egypt, not nine years later following the demise of Akhenaten's successor to the throne.

An analogous, awkward extension of years likewise emerges as a minor problem in the relative placement of Šuppiluliuma's three successive great queens. If the Tut^{c}ankhamūn-synchronism is accepted as valid, then it must be imagined that Šuppiluliuma's first two successive queens are to be "crowded" into the first half of his reign, while the third queen "ruled" the whole of the second half. While this again is credible, it may be recalled that the first ^{c}Amqi attack took place while the conqueror was already married to his last great queen. It has been seen that this campaign occurred some twenty years after his inauguration. According to the traditional view, Šuppiluliuma continued to remain upon his throne with the same queen at the death of Akhenaten, during the entire reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn, and six years beyond that point. The Hittite's third royal wife thus would have enjoyed a "reign" of approximately twenty years (or more). The alternative solution of accepting Akhenaten's death as taking place six years prior to Šuppiluliuma's own demise, would have the advantage of seeing the conqueror's third marriage as a reasonable indication of the relative lateness in his reign. It is much more logical to assume that the presence of the third _Tawananna_ as early as the "great Syrian" campaign and consequently contemporary with Akhenaten's latter regnal years, heralded the closing events in the lives of that Egyptian king and of her own husband, Šuppiluliuma, rather than see a curious "over-extension" of years found available for both her and Šuppiluliuma.

The same moot argument, while too ambivalent to produce a definitive conclusion, is to be observed also in the case of Tušratta. If the hitherto accepted chronological scheme is followed, his murder must be postponed from a logical time following the "great Syrian" campaign in the Amarna years until years later during Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war. The unstable political situation in Mitanni must then be put in slow moving limbo, from the death of Tušratta to the reinstallment of Mattiwaza at the time of the third ᶜAmqi attack. Is it not historically more palatable (especially in view of the Aššur-ubaliṭ Amarna correspondence) to envision Tušratta's assassination as a direct outcome of events brought upon that country in consequence of Šuppiluliuma's conquests and to see subsequent events such as Mattiwaza's flight and reinstallment circumscribed to a shorter span of time?[12]

3. The Fall of Kargamiš

A further argument bearing on the identity of the Pharaoh referred to in the Hittite annals is the curious gap in the events leading up to the fall of Kargamiš. The proper sequence of events is clear; Šuppiluliuma attempted to take Kargamiš at the time of the "great Syrian" campaign, but without success. There is then a renewal of

Hittite activity within North Syria toward the end of the period of the Amarna letters. It is at this moment that a mutilated passage (EA 54:44-57) mentions [Ka]rgamiš for the first and only time in the Amarna Age records. A nine-year gap of silence follows during Tut^{c}ankhamūn's reign, at the end of which period the Hittite records illuminate the scene. Again Kargamiš is mentioned. Šuppiluliuma is shown having a continued interest in plotting the overthrow of the now beleaguered city, which shortly falls to the conqueror.

The nine-year historical vacuum during a presumable era of fast-moving political changes in North Syria may be attributed to lack of sources during Tut^{c}ankhamūn's years in office. What makes the period of silence seem excessively long, however, is not only the fact that the conqueror's interest in Syria in the late Amarna letters is suddenly seen again years later in Šuppiluliuma's annals as if caught in the same activity, but also because of the identical impression created in the text KUB, XIX, 9 composed by Ḫattušili III. Here the description of the "great Syrian" campaign is immediately followed, without any intervening events, by the fall of Kargamiš and Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war. This apparent chronological hiatus would disappear if the synchronism under question is resolved in favor of Akhenaten. There then would be no need to envision such an extensive period of Hittite military operations directed against Kargamiš (of which there is no contemporary record). Instead, the first Hittite contact with the city and its eventual fall may all be placed in a reasonably short span of time during the Amarna years.[13]

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4. The Identity of Daḫamunzu

The invitation of the queen of Egypt, designated as Daḫamunzu, the cuneiform rendition of the Egyptian title T3-ḥm(.t)-nśw, meaning "the King's Wife,"[14] to Šuppiluliuma to send a son of his to marry her raises the question as to her identity. Interestingly, whether or not the Hittite synchronism is in reference to Tut^{c}ankhamūn or Akhenaten, the possibility exists that in either case the queen in question may have been Akhenaten's daughter, Ankhesenamūn (known during the Amarna years by her earlier name Ankhesenpaaten). Supposedly the last queen of the "heretical" Pharaoh, she is thought to have married her father, replacing her mother Nefertiti as the dominant queen-figure at a time after the fifteenth year of Akhenaten's reign.[15] With the passing of Akhenaten, she was married to Tut^{c}ankhamūn. At the termination of his ephemeral rule, her role as "the King's Wife" is again thought to have been advanced by a further marriage to Ay, the successor of Tut^{c}ankhamūn.[16]

The possibility therefore presents itself that Ankhesenamūn may have been the key to Egyptian kingship during this period. It may be well, however, to take a closer look at her relative importance during these years. At the death of Akhenaten and his coregent Semenkhkerē^{c}, the nine to eleven-year-old Tut^{c}ankhamūn (then known as Tut^{c}ankhaten) became the scion of the royal family, the logical heir-apparent to the throne. Only in order to invest the little boy with at least the appearance of the virility expected of "the Bull of Egypt," was the new Pharaoh married to the eleven or twelve-year-old Ankhesenamūn, who at that moment, due to her birth and supposed former marriage, was the highest ranking princess in the land. Certainly Ankhesenamūn's marriage to Tut^{c}ankhamūn cannot be interpreted as conferring upon him the right to the throne.[17] Neither can the same be said about her supposed marriage to Ay, who was possibly both her grandfather and great uncle. Ay was already advertised as the heir-designate to the throne on the eve of the official funeral of Tut^{c}ankhamūn. He is pictured wearing animal skin and the khepresh, the blue leather crown which symbolizes Pharaoh's sway over all the domains of the sun, as he performed the ceremony of the "opening of the mouth and eyes" as had been done throughout the ages by royal heirs succeeding their fathers.[18] One scholar would even interpret this scene as evidence that Ay posed as a coregent before the death of Tut^{c}ankhamūn.[19] It is known that Ay held both the high office of fan-bearer of the king and the exalted rank of vizier.[20] Undoubtedly, therefore, he was the actual power behind the throne prior to his own coronation. That he assumed kingly titles before his possible marriage to Ankhesenamūn would relegate her influence to the minor role of simply regularizing the lofty position of the throne as the Hereditary Princess.

The fact that Ḫattuša-zita, the messenger sent by Šuppiluliuma in answer to the queen's message, remained in Egypt over the winter and returned to his lord in the spring, makes it hard to believe that such an extended trip could have taken place following the death of Tut^{c}ankhamūn. The return message of the queen to Šuppiluliuma by the hands of Ḫattuša-zita is quoted as saying: "He who was my husband is dead and I have no son. Should I then perhaps take one of my servants and make him my husband?"[21] Would such words be written by Ankhesenamūn a year after Tut^{c}ankhamūn's death, when Ay was very much upon the

Egyptian throne? This message pictures the queen as seeing no legal heir to the Egyptian throne in sight; that she had no other course open but to marry a palace official. During the course of the winter of Ḫattuša-zita's stay, he would have been made fully aware that there was a Pharaoh on the throne who would strongly oppose any foreign rival to his hereditary position!

The conviction is thus again brought to the fore that it was Akhenaten's death that was reported to Šuppiluliuma. The termination of Akhenaten's rule is found to be one of the few times in Egyptian history when women were prominent in the affairs of the court. At that time as many as three queens may have emerged as rivals to the Egyptian throne. There was first of all Nefertiti, who while having lost or given up her position as Akhenaten's wife, was still living in the capital Akhetaten with the young Tut^{c}ankhaten.[22] Secondly, Meritaten, Akhenaten's eldest daughter and wife of his coregent Semenkhkerē^{c} had become outstandingly prominent. In a particular building named Maruaten, Nefertiti's name was repeatedly erased and replaced by her daughter's name.[23] Meritaten's favored position was, as seen, reflected in the letters of Burnaburiaš of Babylon and Abimilki of Tyre. The third ranking party was the child Ankhesenpaaten, already mentioned as possibly the last wife of Akhenaten.

Of the three queens, Nefertiti was the most likely to have written the message to the Hittite conqueror.[24] In the mystery that surrounds the disappearance of both Akhenaten and Semenkhkerē^{c}, it is she who stood the best chance of emerging as a commanding figure. Her daughters Meritaten and Ankhesenpaaten were both extremely young, while

Tut^{c}ankhaten was directly under her care and a mere boy. It is no wonder that she wrote, "I am loath to take a servant of mine and make him my husband."[25] If she would seize the throne, there was no eligible royal husband available. By posing as the regent of Tut^{c}ankhamūn, however, she could have placed herself as the leading contender for political authority. Unfortunately, too much is left for speculation.[26] Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is much more plausible to see a period of uncertainty surrounding the royal succession after the death of Akhenaten than the other alternative when Ay already had assumed kingship even before Tut^{c}ankhamūn's death.

5. The Prenomen Nibḫururiya

Finally, the Hittite rendition of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's prenomen, Nibḫururiya, demands an explanation. In spite of the possibility of confusion on the part of a Hittite or Ḫurrian scribe, one cannot deny that the name was that of Tut^{c}ankhamūn.[27] Two questions arise which may point toward a possible solution.

Was the name a deliberate ruse or distortion so that Akhenaten's prenomen would not appear in the Hittite royal archives? Novel as this question may be, the Hittites would have no more reason to recognize the "heretical" religious zealot than the Egyptians, who by the reign of Ḥaremḥab (a contemporary of Muršili) refused officially to admit his past existence.[28] Akhenaten's unique and uncompromising stand against not only the traditional Egyptian religion but also all full-blown polytheistic systems would not have stood him in good stead in the eyes of foreign dignitaries.[29] His unpopularity possibly may have accounted for the reason that Tušratta of Mitanni in one instance corresponded with

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Tiye, Akhenaten's mother, rather than write directly to the "heretic" (EA 26).

Is the explanation simply to be found in the number of years which elapsed before recording the name of the Pharaoh? In a prayer directed to "the gods who came to the place of judgment" Muršili II makes a revealing statement:[30]

> "And it [was a tablet about] Egypt." To this tablet I did not add a word nor did I take one out. O gods, my lords, look! I do not know whether any of those who were kings before (me) added [a word] or took one out. I myself do not know anything and have not heard a word afterwards from hearsay.

The text then goes on to speak about the second ^{c}Amqi attack: "But the king of Egypt died in those days. But I was still a child and did not know whether the king of Egypt made [.....] to my father about those countries (^{c}Amqi lands?), or whether he [did] nothing."

Muršili II thus reveals that "he was a child at the time of the events, that he only learned about them from a tablet, and that he did not even know whether anybody before him had tampered with the text of the tablet."[31] The possibility therefore exists that when Muršili authored his father's annals, it was at a time after Tut^{c}ankhamūn's (real) death. Not knowing who the Pharaoh was who "died in those days" (the name probably was not to be found in the tablet), he may have been influenced in recording Tut^{c}ankhamūn's prenomen by a remembrance that a pharaoh called Nibḫururiya--in times past--had died.

Unfortunately a documented explanation cannot be given concerning the problem in question. At present, all that can be definitively concluded is that the appearance of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's prenomen in the Hittite records is in direct variance with the reconstructed history of that time.

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX VI

[1] The present study does not pretend to be of such scope and magnitude as to include the complex questions involved in the broad chronological spectrum of Near Eastern antiquity (such as the measure of certainty found in the synchronic history of Egypt, Assyro-Babylonian, and the Hittite empires, or the appraisal of such items as calendrical data, determination of years of reigns, astronomical findings or relative stratigraphy). Current chronological opinion synthesized along such lines are found in such works as William C. Hayes, M. B. Rowton and Frank H. Stubbings, "Chronology," *CAH*, I, Chap. VI, Revised ed., Fascicle 4 (1962); and P. Van der Meer, *The Chronology of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1963). *KUB*, XIV, 4, a text dated to the tenth year of Muršili II, speaks of a (sinister) omen of the sun. This has been interpreted to mean that there was a solar eclipse. If so, Muršili's tenth year is to be dated to 1335 B.C. (see Rowton *apud CAH*, p. 46, n. 2). Besides the synchronisms of the Amarna letters which indicate (as the present study has shown) that Šuppiluliuma was a contemporary of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, there is a further indirect synchronism between Ḫatti and Egypt, but the results are inconclusive. It is known, for example, that Niqmaddu II of Ḫatti was still reigning in Ugarit in the seventh year of Muršili II of Ḫatti (*PRU* IV, pp. 53-55). With the death of Niqmaddu, however, his successor, Arḫalbu, apparently renewed Ugarit's former relations with Egypt; for there is the presence of an Egyptian royal alabaster with Ḥaremḥab's cartouche found in Arḫalbu's palace (*ibid*., pp. 57-58). As Arḫalbu's revolt against Ḫatti took place in Muršili II's reign, it becomes quite certain that Muršili and Ḥaremḥab were contemporaries ruling on their respective thrones. This synchronic data, however, has no effect on whether it was Akhenaten's or Tutᶜankhamūn's death that was reported to Šuppiluliuma. In either instance, Ḥaremḥab would still have been a ruling contemporary of Muršili after the latter's seventh year.

[2] *ANET*, pp. 394-396.

[3] As translated by A. Goetze *apud ANET*, p. 395.

[4] A. Malamat gives a revealing historical backdrop to the "Plague Prayers" in his article, "Doctrines of Causality in the Hittite and Biblical Historiography: A Parallel," *VT*, 5 (1955), pp. 1-12. Cf. also H. G. Güterbock, "Mursili's accounts of Suppiluliuma's dealings with Egypt," *RHA*, 18 (1960), pp. 57-63. For the land of ᶜAmqi see Y. Aharoni, "The Land of ᶜAmqi," *IEJ*, 3 (1953), pp. 153-161.

[5] See Goetze's translation, *ANET*, p. 319.

[6] H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as told by His Son, Muršili II," *JCS*, 10 (1956), p. 111.

Footnotes to Appendix VI (2)

[7] See the translation given by K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, p. 3.

[8] The identification: Māla River = Euphrates is given by a bilingual text of Ḫattušili I, cf. Otten, *MDOG*, 91 (1958), p. 83, n. 28. The six-year Syrian war of *KUB*, XIX, 9 and its chronological placement is a matter of dispute. The presentation here follows that of Kitchen, *ibid*. E. F. Campbell, Jr., *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, pp. 117-118, would place the siege of Kargamiš at the end of the six years.

[9] Šuppiluliuma was followed on the throne by the ephemeral reign of Arnuwanda III. After a short reign which apparently lasted only a few months, Arnuwanda's rule passed on to his brother, Muršili II. Cf. O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 32.

[10] The third ^{c}Amqi attack thus is followed by five years of Šuppiluliuma's reign plus fifteen regnal years of Muršili II.

[11] Mario Liverani would see Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign as an occurrence during the reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn. Cf. Henri Cazelles' review of M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'Etá degli archivi politici*, *VT*, 13 (1963), pp. 346-348.

[12] If the reference to the passing of an important personage in EA 43:6 is indeed Tušratta, then his death must fall within the Amarna years. Cf. Chap. Three, n. 67.

[13] If the "great Syrian" campaign is dated to the thirteenth year of Akhenaten (*cir*. 1359 B.C.), there would be a "hiatus" of some thirteen years until the end of the ninth year of Tut^{c}ankhamūn (ending in *cir*. 1344 B.C.), at the "accepted date" for the fall of Kargamiš. This gap in time would be reduced to some four years if the Akhenaten synchronism is accepted. The text *KUB*, XIX, 9, which is strikingly silent on the period between the "great Syrian" campaign and Šuppiluliuma's six-year Syrian war, may be compared with *KBo*, VI, 28, obv. 6-25 which also summarizes Šuppiluliuma's reign. Here again, although the text is completely independent from that of *KUB*, XIX, 9, the discussion of the conquest of the Ḫurri lands merges immediately into the events surrounding the fall of Kargamiš. Šuppiluliuma's annals are unfortunately no help as they are incomplete during these crucial years.

[14] Walter Federn, "Daḫamunzu (KBo V 6 iii 8)," *JCS*, 14 (1960), p. 33.

[15] H. Brunner, "Eine neue Amarna-Prinzessin," *ZÄS*, 74 (1937), pp. 104-108. The basis for such a marriage is actually quite weak, being based only on the strength of the presence on the same slab of stone the name Ankhesenpaaten Tashery ("the child Ankhesenpaaten") and the cartouche of Akhenaten. Ankhesenpaaten must have been only a child of eight or nine when she supposedly married her father and gave birth(?)

to a daughter of the same name(!?). See Sir Alan Gardiner's reservations in *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 236.

[16] Also questionable (*supra*, n. 15) is the marriage of Ankhesenamūn to Ay. The marriage has been assumed from a finger-ring inscription which side by side lists the prenomen of Ay and the name Ankhesenamūn; both names are written in cartouches. No titles are given with the pair of names (Percy E. Newberry, "King Ay, the Successor of Tut^{c}ankhamūn," *JEA*, 18 [1932], p. 50). Both Gardiner, *loc. cit.* and J. Vergote, *Tout-ankh-amon dans les archives hittites*, p. 8, doubt that this marriage ever took place. The joint cartouches on the ring do confirm, however, their simultaneous presence on the throne.

[17] Tut^{c}ankhamūn's extreme youth at the moment of his accession points toward the fact that he was the rightful heir to the throne irregardless of his marriage. Why else should a boy be allowed to be placed on the throne and even be allowed to legitimatize his position (by marriage) if it were not universally recognized that he was the heir-apparent of the remaining royal family. Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt in her recently published book, *Tutankhamen* (New York, 1963), goes so far as to make the undemonstrable claim that Tut^{c}ankhamūn was the last surviving son of Amenhotep III whom the priests of Amūn regarded as the new son of the sun even prior to Akhenaten's death (p. 170). Gardiner's more sober treatment (*op. cit.*, pp. 235-236) is tempered by the fact that nothing definite is known about the young king's parentage. He does, however, toy with the idea that Tut^{c}ankhamūn owed his throne to his marriage with Ankhesenpaaten. Alexandre Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 14, simply states that Tut^{c}ankhamūn's marriage legitimized his position. Against the notion that Tut^{c}ankhamūn owed his throne to his marriage may be added the further argument that he was obviously a member of the royal family. It should be remembered that there is a striking resemblance between the face of Tut^{c}ankhamūn (which is known from ancient Egyptian sculpture and his extant mummy) and that of the royal family, particularly Akhenaten.

[18] Piankoff, *op. cit.*, p. 17, Plate 5.

[19] Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[20] *Ibid*.

[21] *ANET*, p. 319.

[22] ". . . Nofretete's disgrace is largely based on the somewhat inconsistent erasure of her cartouches, and the replacing of her name and figure by those of Meritaten, in the precinct of Maru Aten on the south of the town, which might be susceptible of some other explanation," W. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1958), p. 190. Cf. *CoA* III, p. 18; *CoA* II, pp. 64-65; *CoA* I, pp. 123-156; and Steindorff and Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, p. 221.

Footnotes to Appendix VI (4)

[23] *CoA* I, pp. 123-156.

[24] E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, pp. 337ff.

[25] *ANET*, p. 319. An analysis of Tut^{c}ankhamūn's mummy shows that he was between eighteen and twenty years old when he died. This allows the establishment of the approximate date for his coronation as there is no date mentioned in connection with him after year nine which appears on wine-jars found in his tomb. As Tut^{c}ankhamūn was probably eighteen years old at his death, he would have been about nine at his coronation.

[26] See especially J. Sturm, "Wer ist Pipḫururias?" *RHA*, 2 (1933), pp. 161-176. Sturm goes a bit far in speculating on situations for which there exists no documentation. Admittedly, however, one is forced into explaining how the *Nibḫururiya* incident of the Hittite annals can be fitted into what is known of Egyptian history. Following the reconstruction of the present study which sees Ḥaremḥab, Akhenaten's general, leading an Egyptian attack against Aitagama's Qadeš (*supra*, Chap. Three, under the subtitle "The Egyptian Counterattack at Qadeš" sub "The Egyptian records"), it must be assumed that Ḥaremḥab and the forces under his command remained in Syria and were there a year later when Zannanza, the Hittite prince, was sent through Syria by Šuppiluliuma, on his way toward Egypt. Ḥaremḥab would then be the assumed culprit who slew the prince, putting an end to the Kuruštama alliance, which was not renewed until sometime during the aftermath of the famous battle of Qadeš in the time of Ramses II of Egypt and Ḫattušili III of Ḫatti (*cir.* 1284 B.C.). Helck, *Die Beziehungen...*, p. 186, while believing that the widowed queen of the Hittite annals was Ankhesenamūn, recently bereaved of her husband Tut^{c}ankhamūn, sees a similar situation as presented here. Ḥaremḥab would be in the field in Syria at the time, staying there to fight in the subsequent revenge action taken by Šuppiluliuma.

[27] While the writer accepts the identification of the cuneiform name with that of the prenomen of Tut^{c}ankhamūn, he does not necessarily follow the argument that because the name is repeated twice, in two variants of the Hittite cuneiform records, that its identity is beyond question. After all, two Egyptian sources from the time of Amenhotep II both erroneously mention the place-name *Ikat* for a presumable *Ika<ri>t* (Ugarit)! Cf. Wilson *apud* *ANET*, p. 246, n. 18; Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[28] William C. Hayes *apud* "Chronology," *CAH*, p. 18.

[29] Akhenaten's god was not formed by syncretism, but by exclusion (as a study of the earlier and later titulary name of Aten indicates) until Aten became "Lord of all the sun encircles." Nor was Aten represented as the normal traditional deities were. Shorn of an image, the god was depicted simply as the disk of the sun. Such an unprecedented religion with its unroofed temples, and its concept that Aten was the king of the world, was certainly out of temper with the religious mood of the times, let alone the syncretistic religious trends inherent in

Footnotes to Appendix VI (5)

the "internationalism" of the Amarna Age. Surely Akhenaten's uncompromising attitude toward dissenting faiths and his appearance as an unconventional Pharaoh, stripped of traditional concepts, must have angered not only his countrymen but also the foreign dignitaries. Cf. Battiscombe Gunn, "Notes of the Aten and his Names," JEA, 9 (1923), pp. 168-176; Henri Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 3; J. H. Breasted, The Dawn of Conscience, p. 295.

[30] Translated by H. G. Güterbock, RHA, 18 (1960), pp. 59-61.

[31] *Ibid*., p. 61.

APPENDIX VII

THE EGYPTIAN COREGENCY QUESTION AND THE AMARNA SOURCES

One of the most controversial subjects of Egyptian history is whether Amenhotep III and Akhenaten ruled together as coregents during the first decade or so of the latter's reign,[1] or whether the younger king's reign did not start until his father's death.[2] Although a coregency of the type under discussion was not exceptional during this period of Egyptian history,[3] the Amarna Age was a unique era with peculiar factors which must be taken into account. A case in point is the fact that there are no double datings which would indicate that there was a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten as is true in the case of the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty.[4] But if there was a coregency, which to the present writer seems likely, it may not have been of a normal type. In the first place, Akhenaten, the younger king, would have to be thought of as the dominant ruler.[5] Secondly, when double datings do appear in the records, they show that the god Aten was considered as a king who co-ruled with Akhenaten (a religious "motif" which is unique in Egyptian history).[6] Thirdly, since Akhenaten was hostile against the name "Amūn", he surely did not want that name associated with his own. However, that name would have been forced upon him if he had accepted his father's nomen "Amenhotep" in a double-dated document.[7] Finally, it may be noted that there is not a single extant text which double-dates Semenkhkarē^c's coregency with Akhenaten.[8] It therefore seems likely that Akhenaten did not double-date his reign except on those occasions when he placed his name alongside the god "king" Aten.

Without becoming involved with the complexities of the coregency problem, the present study herewith offers two tentative observations.

1. Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign occurred sometime well within Akhenaten's reign. This has been demonstrated by archaeological materials which show Ugarit to have been uneffected by the Hittite conquest until sometime after Akhenaten's year six,[9] and by a study of the Amarna letters which indicate that Assyria remained firmly in vassalage to Mitanni until at least the mid-years of Akhenaten's seventeen-year reign.[10] One thus may conclude that Šuppiluliuma did not extend his suzerainty over Ugarit nor decisively defeat Tušratta's Mitanni until late in Akhenaten's reign. An analysis of the available evidence also reveals that Šuppiluliuma's first Syrian foray took place at a point in time prior to Amenhotep III's year thirty-four.[11] Here, then, are two chronological focal points: the "great Syrian" campaign posited sometime within Akhenaten's mid-years (years nine to fourteen) and the first Syrian foray dated to approximately Amenhotep III's year thirty-three.

If a coregency is accepted, so that Amenhotep III's final years (possibly his twenty-eighth to thirty-eighth) should correspond to Akhenaten's first eleven or twelve years, then the data just assessed fit without difficulty into an established chronological framework. The first Syrian foray would be an event dating to the early reign of Akhenaten (his year six and Amenhotep III's year thirty-three). It follows that Šuppiluliuma's first attempt to invade Syria would not be too far removed from the subsequent "great Syrian" campaign (in Akhenaten's year twelve or thirteen).

However, if a coregency is not accepted, the two Hittite invasions in question must be viewed as separated by a considerable period of time, the "great Syrian" campaign falling in the mid-years of Akhenaten's reign and the first Syrian foray some thirteen to eighteen years previously in Amenhotep III's year thirty-three. Such a distant separation in years between the two invasions places a strain on what is known of Šuppiluliuma's career. According to the text KUB, XIX, 9 (lines 5-6), the Hittite conqueror did not launch his victorious year-long invasion into Syria until after twenty years of rule.[12] Since that invasion cannot antedate Akhenaten's mid-years as Pharaoh (years nine to fourteen), a rejection of a coregency between the "heretical" king and his father would mean that Šuppiluliuma commenced his first attack against Mitanni sometime between his third and eighth regnal years. This, however, approaches an impossibility. By the time of the first Syrian foray the famed conqueror was not only already married to his second royal wife (indicating a time during the latter half of the aforementioned twenty years), but at that time he had a son old enough to appoint as priest in Kizzuwatna. It thus would seem that the conqueror's first attack against Mitanni took place during the middle years of his reign and not during his initial regnal years when the Hittites were far from being masters of Anatolia, let alone strong enough to attempt an invasion of Syria![13]

2. Another observation which may be brought to bear on the coregency question is the fact that except for one letter to Amenhotep III

(EA 6), Burnaburiaš's correspondence with the Egyptian court (EA 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11) all seem to deal with events which can be dated late in Akhenaten's reign or to that of the reign of Tut^{c}ankhamūn. Letter 7 was written after the "great Syrian" campaign when Biryawaza was prominent (EA 7:75); letters 10-11 were written at a time after Akhenaten's fifteenth year when Meritaten (cuneiform Mayati), the wife of Semenkhkarē^c, was frequently mentioned; and letter 9 was addressed to Tut^{c}ankhamūn.[14] If an eleven to twelve-year coregency is accepted, Burnaburiaš's letters, addressed first to Amenhotep III and then to Akhenaten when the latter was nearing the end of his reign, come as no surprise. If, however, a coregency is rejected, then a ten to fifteen-year gap in Burnaburiaš's letters must be assumed. Following this second alternative, Burnaburiaš would be seen writing to Amenhotep III but not resuming his Egyptian correspondence until years later at the very end of Akhenaten's reign. Again, it is observed that a coregency position seems much more compatible with the evidence.

The above observations are far from being decisive and only represent a further contribution to a highly controversial subject. Since no one yet has been able to establish with any certainty this sharing of royal powers, the coregency question must continue to await history's final verdict.

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX VII

[1] H. W. Fairman *apud* Pendlebury, *CoA* III, pp. 152-153; *JEA*, 46 (1960), pp. 80-82; Cyril Aldred, *JEA*, 43 (1957), pp. 30-41, 114-117; 45 (1959), pp. 19-33; *JNES*, 18 (1959), pp. 113-120; K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, pp. 6-8.

[2] A. Gardiner, *JEA*, 43 (1957), pp. 13-14; W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 184-185; E. F. Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, pp. 7-30.

[3] Examples of a king taking his son or his next-of-kin as his coregent are found not only in the case of Akhenaten and Semenkhkarē^{c}, but also in the case of Seti I and Ramses II who ruled together at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Cf. A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 257.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 439.

[5] Akhenaten certainly would have to be envisioned as a dominating member of a proposed coregency. It was the "heretical" king who wrought a dramatic religious upheaval early in his reign; a reformation which would have been impossible if he had been subordinate to the Amūn-worshiper, Amenhotep III. In this connection it is of interest that a block was uncovered which contains the names Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) preceding that of the name of his father Amenhotep III. Compare the comments of Fairman, *JEA*, 46 (1960), pp. 80-82.

[6] B. Gunn, "Notes on Aten and His Names," *JEA*, 9 (1923), pp. 168-169.

[7] Prior to his year five, the names Amenhotep IV and Amenhotep III appear together (Fairman, *loc. cit*.). During the years Akhenaten was living at Amarna, however, Amenhotep III's prenomen *Nb-m3^{c}t-R^{c}* frequently appears without reference to "Amūn." Cf. Campbell, *op. cit*., pp. 9-13, *passim*.

[8] Cf. Van der Meer, *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux*, 15 (1957-58), p. 75.

[9] See Chap. Three sub "Ugaritic sources."

[10] See Chap. Three sub "The First ^{c}Amqi Attack" sub "Amarna sources."

[11] See Chap. Two sub "The chronological placement of the first Syrian foray."

[12] See Chap. Two sub "The Boghazkoy materials."

Footnotes to Appendix VII (2)

[13] Cf. Chap. Two.

[14] EA 8 is probably to be dated to around the same time as EA 7. Both letters speak about being mistreated in the land of Canaan (EA 7:73-77; 8:25-29). On the chronological significance of the name *Mayati* see Campbell, *op. cit*., pp. 49-51.

APPENDIX VIII

A GEOGRAPHIC PLACEMENT OF THE SYRIAN VASSAL STATES

The Kingdoms of North Syria

The Sketch-Map included with the present Appendix[1] provides the approximate territorial holdings of the principal states of northern Syria during the Amarna Age. The location of such states as Mitanni,[2] Kargamiš,[3] Ḫalab,[4] Mukiš,[5] Ugarit,[6] Nuḫašše,[7] Qaṭna,[8] and Qadeš[9] are fairly well agreed upon by most scholars.[10] The same holds true for the southern Anatolian states of Danuna and Kizzuwatna.[11] Regions which require some explanatory remarks are listed below.

The Land(s) of Amurru

The country of Amurru (*māt Amurri*; EA 61, rev. 5; 95:28) actually consisted of several "lands" or city-states. Only such an explanation can account for Abdi-Aširta's reference to the "countries (*mātāti*)" which were in his hands (EA 60:15-17), or the fact that soon after Aziru's accession to power "all lands . . . from Byblos up to Ugarit" were said to have recognized his suzerainty (EA 98:4-19).[12] That Amurru possessed no traditional boundaries; that the extent of its borders depended upon the number of city-states which would recognize the immediate overlordship of Amurru's leading dynast would seem to be the logical conclusion drawn from these texts. Abdi-Aširta's and Aziru's political careers indicate that in favorable times Amurru's leading

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chieftain could expand his suzerainty over a wide area, but in times of adversity his territory could become very limited.[13] The fact that Amurru's capital city was variously located, depending upon whoever was recognized as the strongest ruler,[14] suggests that Amurru was built around a political base consisting of a traditional Amorite confederacy[15] analogous to that of the kings of Nuḫašše and the Ḫurri league.[16]

Location of Amurru. The information provided by the documents from Boghazkoy,[17] Ugarit,[18] and Egypt,[19] confirms the evidence given by the Amarna sources[20] which locate the core of Amurru north of the kingdom of Byblos, south of the kingdom of Ugarit, and bounded in the east by the city-states of Qadeš and Qaṭna. To the northeast, Amurru may have extended far into the hinterland of Syria, depending upon the location of Tunip, which presently will be discussed.

Amurru and Canaan. Amurru seemingly was reckoned by the Egyptians as part of the land of Canaan (EA 162:40-41; 109:44-47).[21] When, however, Amurru became subject to Ḫatti, its rulers no longer could be considered as numbered among the kings of Canaan. It therefore comes as no surprise to find a Hittite religious text (KUB, XV and duplicates)[22] listing Amurru and Canaan (Kinnaḫḫi) as separate entities.

Tunip. The location of Tunip, the capital city of Aziru (EA 161:12) and thus at one time a part of Amurru, remains unknown.[23] According to Egyptian records it was an important city between Qadeš and Ḫalab.[24] Since there exists an ancient treaty between a king of Mukiš and a ruler of Tunip which implies that the two states are to be located in the same vicinity (AT 2), and since an Egyptian document from the time of Ramses II speaks of Tunip as though it were not too far from "the land of Ḫalab,"[25] one would imagine that the city should be identified with the modern town of Idlib which not only has similar-sounding consonants to that of Tunip,[26] but also lies approximately twenty-five miles southeast of Alalaḫ (Tell Atchana) and about thirty-five miles southwest of Ḫalab (modern Haleb).

There are several factors, however, which when taken into account would place Tunip in a locality much further to the south. First, Šuppiluliuma fails to mention Tunip during his extensive year-long campaign through Upper Syria and the Orontes Valley (*PD*, No. 1, obv. 17-47). Secondly, the Hittite conqueror rewarded Niqmaddu II during that same military campaign by incorporating certain territories[27] into the kingdom of Ugarit. Among the cities thus incorporated were *Yrgb* (modern er-Ruǧ) and *Srmn* (modern Sermin), both in the immediate neighborhood of Idlib.[28] This information would mean that after the "great Syrian" campaign a large area to the east of Mt. Bargylus (and the kingdom of Ugarit) came under the suzerainty of Niqmaddu. Since Tunip remained a sovereign part of Amurru after Šuppiluliuma's initial conquest of Syria,[29] that city assumedly would have to be sought south of the region encompassing *Yrgb* and *Srmn*.[30] Thirdly, the Amarna letters imply that Tunip lay between the coastlands of Amurru and Nuḫašše (EA 59, 161, 165:38-39).[31] In agreement with just such a placement is the fact that Thutmose III defended the north Phoenician harbor of Ullaza against troops from nearby (?) Tunip.[32] Again, in the time of Ramses II, Deper (*da-pu-r*) is mentioned as a place in the general region of Tunip--"a town which his majesty desolated in the land of Amurru."[33] If Deper is to be identified with Tuban, twenty-five kilometers west northwest of Homs,[34] Tunip indeed would be seen as having been situated between the north Phoenician coast and the lands of Nuḫašše. Possibly, then, Tunip is to be located northeast of the land of Amurru and southeast of the kingdom of Ugarit (compare the Sketch-Map).

Canaan

In the Amarna period the Egyptian province of Canaan (cuneiform *Kinaḫna*)[35] consisted of a large region broken up into dozens of city-states under the administrative suzerainty of Egypt. The northern limits of these administered "lands" lay to the south and west of the city-state of Qadeš.[36] Such a conclusion is to be adduced primarily from the "Plague Prayers" (*KUB*, XIV, 8) which refer to Egypt's border as being located at ᶜAmqi (in central Syria), and those documents bearing on Šuppiluliuma's Syrian invasions (*KUB*, XIX, 9; *KBo*, VI, 28; and the annals of the famed conqueror) which speak of Qadeš and other regions east and north of the coastlands of Amurru as being part of "Ḫurri land."[37] Thus, according to the Hittites, Syria was divided into two spheres--the Egyptian-administered lands (southern Syria) and those lands which were considered affiliated with the Ḫurri league (northern Syria). That this demarcation "line" is to be considered the same as the northern boundary line of Canaan may be gathered from the Old Testament (Num. 34:7-9).[38] Documents from Ugarit which refer to the Canaanites as foreigners[39] taken together with the Amarna materials which indicate that the province of Canaan comprised the area of Palestine and the Phoenician coast,[40] reveal that the bounds of Canaan referred to in the Book of Numbers (34:2-12) are the same as that ascribed to Canaan by the Late Bronze Age sources.[41]

Yarimuta. Yanḫamu, Egypt's high commissioner for Canaan during the early Amarna years, had his headquarters at a place called Yarimuta, from whence he issued supplies (EA 85:48-50; 125:14-17). Because the Amarna letters from Byblos so often refer to Yarimuta--as though it were not too far distant--and because during a military campaign Sargon I of Akkad (cir. 2370 B.C.) reached a region in the vicinity of the northeastern Mediterranean littoral called "Yarmuti,"[42] historians often have postulated that the location of Egypt's royal grain lands was to be placed in Syria, "in the neighborhood of Ṣumur and Byblos."[43] Such a placement seems supported by the references in the Amarna letters to ships which sailed from the Phoenician coastlands to Yarimuta in order to procure grain (EA 82:28-29; 105:85-86). One thus would appear justified in localizing Yanḫamu's headquarters in Syria, at a region bordering the Mediterranean Sea.

There are several factors, however, which militate against such a view. Sargon's Yarmuti was either somewhere in the valley of the Upper Euphrates or along the coast in North Syria,[44] and therefore was too far north to be equated with the place of the same name mentioned in the Amarna letters. The Yarimuta in question was the Egyptian "bread basket" for Canaan and presumably should be sought within the confines of Egypt's administered lands, i.e., within the bounds of Canaan itself, and not in North Syria.

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Since the royal grain lands of Yarimuta seem not to have been affected by the advancing armies of Tušratta and the lords of the Ḫurri league, it would appear that Yarimuta was south of Amurru and the kingdom of Byblos (EA 85:51-55, 33-37). Indeed, the fact that Yapa-Haddi of Tyre was able to stop shipments of grain sent from Yarimuta to Byblos (EA 105: 85-87),[45] suggests that the location of the grain lands was to the south of Tyre.[46]

Of the two known Palestinian places reflecting the name Yarimuta, Yarmūth of the high-hill country of Judah (Jos. 12:11; 15:35) or Yarmūth/ Ramoth[47] situated within the territory of Issachar (Jos. 21:29; 19:21; I Chr. 6:73), the latter site lends itself more readily to an identification with the grain lands of the Amarna Age. It was in the Jezreel Plain, in the very vicinity of Biblical Ramoth, that one hears about the Egyptian corvée in Canaan (EA 365:11-14).[48] It was from this very area that Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty later received a report concerning trouble in the region of "Yarumtu."[49] The most convincing argument that may be brought forward in identifying the "Yarumtu" of Issachar with the earlier Yarimuta of Yanḥamu's time is the fact that an Amarna Age tablet unearthed from ancient Taanach speaks about the receipt of grain from Kōkaba'.[50] Kōkaba' can only have been located at Kōkab el-Hawā, eighteen miles northeast of Taanach in the very range of hills where the tribe of Issachar settled.[51] Yarimuta, which means "height," may easily have been applied to this range of hills. The "heights" above the Jezreel Valley imaginably may have lent its name to the whole region.

In summary, the fact that Kōkab el-Hawā already has been identified with Yarumtu of Seti's time,[52] coupled with the additional fact that the Amarna Age town of Taanach received a shipment of grain from that same site, make it difficult for one to escape the conclusion that here was to be located the Egyptian royal grain lands cared for by Yanḫamu. Here the Egyptian corvée was to be found; an administrative center from whence supplies could be sent to various points throughout Canaan.[53]

Niʾi

On the accompanying map, Niʾi is tentatively placed within range of the Orontes, possibly on the lake of Apamea.[54] At one time Niʾi formed part of the kingdom of Mukiš (Idrimi inscription, lines 37-38), which would indicate that Niʾi was a near neighbor of that country. In a stela of Thutmose III, his majesty is said to have proceeded to Shamash-Edom (Adamah in Galilee),[55] crossed the Orontes River, arriving at Niʾi before continuing on to Ugarit.[56] From Niʾi Takuya went to Alalaḫ to surrender his country to Šuppiluliuma during the "great Syrian" campaign (PD, No. 1, obv. 30-31). The passage possibly infers that Niʾi had not yet been overrun by Hittite forces as it would have been if it had been situated between the Mitanni-Kargamiš region and the kingdom of Mukiš. Akizzi of Qaṭna wrote to Akhenaten that the countries of Nuḫašše, Niʾi, Zinzar, and Tunanat were loyal to Pharaoh (EA 53:41-44). Seemingly these lands were to be found in close proximity to each other, "all evoking the neigbourhood of the Orontes" north of Qadeš.[57] The fact that the citizens of Tunip reported to Akhenaten that Aziru of Amurru was a threat to Niʾi (EA 59:27), leaves the impression that Amurru on the Phoenician coast possessed a common border with Niʾi.

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Tunanat-Zinzar

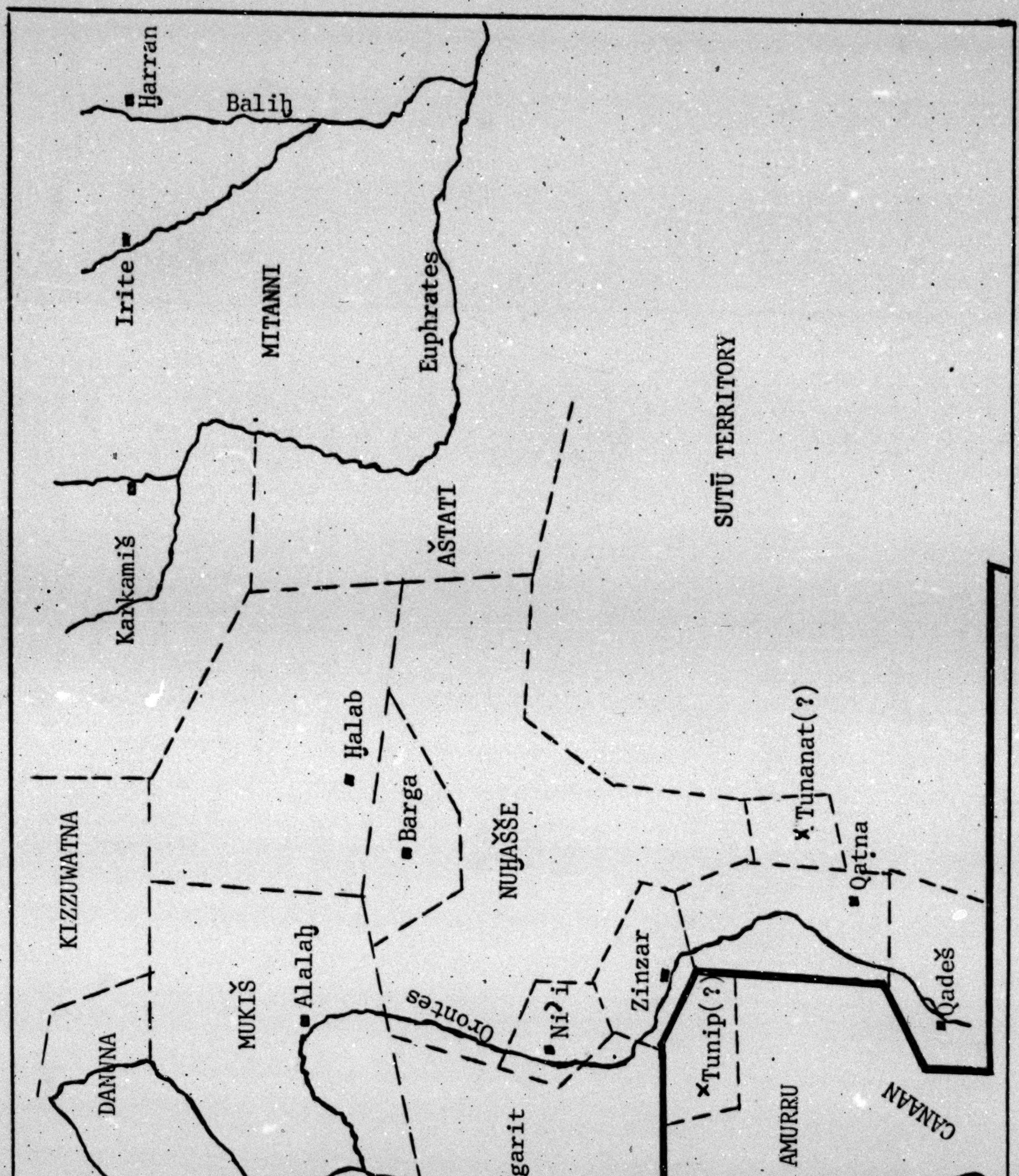
Mentioned as a principality in Syria (EA 53:41-44), the country of Tunanat also is referred to as "Tunanab" by a Hittite text (*KUB*, XV, 34).[58] Since this Hittite text lists Tunanab as a state between the kingdoms of Zinzar and Qaṭna (Qaṭanna), the site has been associated with Dunibe, a modern hamlet fifteen kilometers northeast of Qaṭna.[59] Zinzar is taken to be identical with modern Šeizar on the Orontes.[60]

Barga-Aštati

Akizzi's mention of Barga (EA 57:3) implies that the city-state was not too far away from Qaṭna, presumably in North Syria. It is an impression confirmed from the annals of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (853 B.C.), which speak of Barga as lying between Ḫalab and Hamath (Amat).[61] That city-state therefore has been identified with modern Barkum, twenty-five kilometers southwest of Ḫalab.[62]

In his treaty with Šuppiluliuma (*PD*, No. 3), Tette of Nuḫašše promised to serve his suzerain in a war against the great powers (Ḫurri, Egypt, and Babylonia [Kar-Duniash]). Of the minor states mentioned, "Aštata" appears as a neighbor of Nuḫašše. Because Aštati in the Hittite materials is spoken of as bordering on Ḫalab (*KBo*, I, 6), that kingdom is thought to have "extended down the Euphrates from Carchemish to the mouth of the Habur."[63]

SKETCH-MAP OF NORTHERN SYRIA


Ḫarran
Baliḫ
Irite
MITANNI
Euphrates
Karkamiš
AŠTATI
SUTŪ TERRITORY
KIZZUWATNA
Ḫalab
Barga
NUḪAŠŠE
Tunanat(?)
Qatna
MUKIŠ
Alalaḫ
Orontes
Niʾi
Zinzar
Tunip(?)
Qadeš
DANUNA
Ugarit
AMURRU
CANAAN

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX VIII

[1] Cf. the maps of northern Syria during the Amarna Age rendered by A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 133*; M. C. Astour, "Place-names from the Kingdom of Alalaḫ in the North Syrian List of Thutmose III....," *JNES*, 22 (1963), p. 240; Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden, 1965), attached to the back cover; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 317; S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi* (London, 1949), p. 109.

[2] Cf. the discussion by R. T. O'Callaghan, S.J., *Aram Naharaim*, pp. 51ff.

[3] Modern Jerablus. Cf. L. C. Woolley, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum*. Vol. III. London, 1952.

[4] Modern Ḥaleb. Cf. the discussion of "Aleppo" by Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302.

[5] Alalaḫ (Tell Atchana) was the capital of the kingdom of Mukiš; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 302-303.

[6] Modern Ras Shamra.

[7] See Chap. III, n. 15.

[8] See Chap. III, n. 16.

[9] Cf. the discussion by Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-310.

[10] For the "Sutū territory" see Chap. II, n. 16.

[11] See Chap. II, n. 3 and Chap. V, n. 26.

[12] See Chap. V, n. 16.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Abdi-Aširta's city was ^{c}Arqata (EA 62:13). His successor Aziru had his capital at Tunip (EA 161:12, 32-34). Aziru is often referred to as one of the "sons of Abdi-Aširta." A filial relationship, however, simply may have been the conventional manner of stating the status of Aziru *vis-à-vis* Abdi-Aširta, the "father" of the Amorite league. After Abdi-Aširta's death Aziru himself is called "father" by his supposed "brothers" (EA 169:19, 32; cf. Chap. V, n. 73). Interestingly, Abdi-Aširta at one point is called *LÚ Abašunu*, "the man, their father" (cf. Appendix III, n. 16).

Footnotes to Appendix VIII (2)

[15] In the Mari period mention is made of four kings of Amurru; cf. H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965), p. 280.

[16] Cf. *supra*, pp. 21-22, 140.

[17] The Duppi-Tešub treaty between the grandson of Aziru and Muršili II of Ḫatti (*PD*, No. 5) speaks of Amurru as lying near the countries of Mukiš, Ḫalba, and Qadeš (cf. *ANET*, p. 204). Following the "great Syrian" campaign, Šuppiluliuma was said to have established his boundary at the "yon side" of Qadeš, at the land of Amurru (*KUB*, XIX, 9).

[18] RS 20.33 (unpublished) is a letter from an Ugaritic commander whose chariotry is mentioned as being deployed in Amurru, half on the coast and the remainder inland. This Ugaritic source thus places Amurru along the coastal region--a region which must lie to the south of Ugarit.

[19] In the time of Ramses II, Amurru is spoken of as located on the Phoenician coast west of Qadeš. Cf. *ANET*, p. 256 and n. 9; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 188*.

[20] The Amarna materials speak of such coastal cities as ᶜArqata, Ullaza, Šigata, Ammiya, and Ardata as being part of Amurru. The city of Tunip in the hinterland of Syria is also included.

[21] Ammiya (variant Ambi), a coastal town lying between Byblos and ᶜArqata, is listed as being in Canaan by the Idrimi inscription (lines 19-20). Yanḫamu, Egypt's high commissioner for Canaan, was in charge of Amurru (EA 171), a fact which also indicates that Amurru was considered as part of the province of Canaan.

[22] Cf. *ANET*, p. 352; Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, pp. 34-35.

[23] See the remarks of Astour, *JNES*, 22 (1963), p. 223, art. 6, and the full discussion by Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-306.

[24] See the "annals" of Thutmose III, *ANET*, pp. 238-239, 241.

[25] James H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, III, art. 319.

[26] Cf. the similarity of consonants between *T-n-p* and *d-l-b*.

[27] An edict of Šuppiluliuma, confirmed by Muršili II, transferred forty-five towns and localities of the vanquished Mukiš to Niqmaddu. Published and commented by Nougayrol, *PRU* IV, section IV, A (tablets 17.237, 17.340, 13.62, 17.339A, and 17.366).

[28] Cf. *supra*, n. 27. Unfortunately the relevant documents are not complete. After this increase into his kingdom, however, Niqmaddu II styled himself not only *mlk Ugrt* but also *adn Yrgb* and *bᶜl Srmn*. See *PRU* IV, p. 63 and Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 106, n. 2.

Footnotes to Appendix VIII (3)

[29] Not only did Aziru, as a nominal vassal of Egypt, continue to live in Tunip after Šuppiluliuma's "great Syrian" campaign (indicating that Tunip was not overrun by the Hittite conqueror), but a later leader of Amurru is to be observed invoking the aid of "Ištar of Tunip" (RS 1806+17.365; 17.459). It thus seems safe to conclude that Aziru's capital-city remained an integral part of Amurru long after that country became a vassal of Ḫatti.

[30] Tunip hardly could have been situated north of the region to the east of Ugarit as that area was controlled by the kingdom of Mukiš.

[31] The core of Amurru lay along the coastland between the kingdoms of Byblos and Ugarit (cf. EA 98:5-9). Tunip as an integral part of Amurru (cf. EA 59 and 161) was said to be a two-day journey from Šuppiluliuma's headquarters in Nuḫašše (EA 167:20-23).

[32] Cf. the "annals" of Thutmose III for his twenty-ninth year (*ANET*, p. 238) and his thirty-first year (*ANET*, p. 239). For the location of Ullaza (a coastal city to the north of ᶜArqata), see Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-315.

[33] *ANET*, p. 256.

[34] So Martin Noth followed by Helck; cf. Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[35] The name is Ḫurrian and ends, as many geographic names of the Ḫurrian period do, in the plural article *-na*. Cf. A. Goetze, "Cilicians," *JCS*, 16 (1962), p. 52.

[36] Cf. the discussion in Appendix II, *supra*, pp. 173-177. Such countries to the north of the province of Canaan, which the Egyptians held as vassals, were tied to Egypt by treaties and oaths of allegiance (cf. the discussion on Ugarit, *supra*, pp. 49-50 and the oath of a Syrian vassal to Tutᶜankhamūn [EA 209], Appendix I, n. 6), and not by an Egyptian administrative system (as found in Canaan). The one exception to this conclusion is the case of Qaṭna following Šuppiluliuma's defeat of that city. In the wake of the political turmoil caused by the invading Hittites, Akizzi promised Pharaoh that he would be loyal to Biryawaza, *rabiṣ* of Upe (EA 52:45-46).

[37] Cf. *supra*, pp. 172-177.

[38] The Biblical boundary line for northern Canaan (as given in Num. 34) ran from the Mediterranean Sea across the Lebanon (Mt. Hor) Lebōʾ-Hamath (modern Lebweh) to Hazar-enan (modern Qaryatein, about seventy-five miles northeast of Damascus on the road to Palmyra). Interestingly, this boundary-line indicates that Amurru was not considered a part of Canaan.

[39] Cf. the discussion by A. F. Rainey, "A Canaanite at Ugarit,"

Footnotes to Appendix VIII (4)

IEJ, 13 (1963), pp. 43-45. This evidence, of course, indicates that the kingdom of Ugarit lay outside of the province of Canaan.

[40] EA 8:17; 367:1, 6-8; 148:39-41, 46. The Amarna evidence shows that the cities of Ḫinnatūna, Akšapa, and Ḫaṣūra in Palestine, and Ṣidon and Tyre on the Pheonician coast are to be included in Canaan. Since the Idrimi inscription places Ammiya in Canaan, the indirect evidence of EA 131:61 and 137:75-76 should be construed as placing Byblos within Canaan.

[41] John Gray would incorrectly place Canaan as a region that "denoted the Syrian coast from the Gulf of Alexandretta to Carmel Head," cf. his book, *The Canaanites* (London, 1964), p. 15. M. C. Astour defines the "geographical denomination" of Canaan as including the "totality of the Egyptian dominions in Asia" and "the entire Syro-Palestinian region in general." Cf. *Hellenosemitica*, p. 5. An Egyptian document of the late thirteenth century B.C. (Papyrus Anastasi I) speaks of Gaza as "the end of the land of Canaan," *e.g.*, the most southerly portion of Canaan (*ANET*, p. 478). Clearly the southern border of Canaan corresponds to the southern border of Palestine.

[42] Cf. C. J. Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion," *CAH*, I, Chap. XIX, Rev. ed., Fascicle 17 (1963), p. 12.

[43] *Ibid.*; Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 266; M. Abdul-Kader Mohammad, *ASAE*, 56 (1959), p. 128; S. A. B. Mercer, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, I, p. 263.

[44] This is made evident by the fact that Yarmuti is mentioned together with such North Syrian place-names as Mari (modern Tell el-Ḥarīri) on the Middle Euphrates, Ibla (a mountain reaching from the gulf of Issis to Tripoli), the Cedar Forest (most probably the Amanus), and the Silver Mountains (Cilicia). Yarmuti may have been Ramitha, the ancient name for Laodicea. The only reason Yarmuti is thought of as being in southern Syria is that it is identified with the Yarimuta of the Amarna Age. Cf. Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, p. 32, n. 91; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 87 (1942), p. 36, n. 30; Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-267.

[45] Cf. *supra*, Chap. V, n. 9.

[46] The Egyptian Execration Texts (dated to the end of the Middle Kingdom) mention a prominent place in Hither Asia called *Y3mwt*. Among the names of the Execration list that have been definitely or at least plausibly identified, there are none north of the Eleutheros Valley on the Phoenician coast. Hence the Yarimuta of the Execration Texts could not have been in North Syria, and is possibly to be identified with the Yarimuta of Yanḥamu's time. Cf. *ANET*, pp. 328-329; Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-67 and his map of the places listed by the Execration Texts, p. 4.

[47] Both forms of the name *YRMT-RMT* occur not only for the town of Issachar but also for the Yarimuta of the Amarna Age (cf. EA 68:27 with 85:14).

Footnotes to Appendix VIII (5)

[48] Cf. *ANET*, p. 485 and n. 7. See also Gen. 49:15 which significantly speaks of the tribe of Issachar in connection with forced labor. The fact that the region of Issachar was known for its corvée, would seem to indicate that this was the region of the royal grain lands.

[49] For the smaller Beth-shan Stela of Seti I, see *ANET*, p. 255; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 125 (1952), pp. 24-32.

[50] "(From) Kōkaba. Belonging to P^{c}--. 8 *kprt*-measures, sifted flour. . ." D. R. Hillers, "An Alphabetic Cuneiform Tablet from Taanach," *BASOR*, 173 (1964), pp. 45-50. The tablet is dated to the Amarna Age by Albright, *BASOR*, 173 (1964), p. 53.

[51] See the remarks of Hillers, *ibid*., p. 47; cf. Albright, *BASOR*, 125 (1952), p. 28, n. 14.

[52] Albright, *ibid*.

[53] The mention of ships traveling to Yarimuta from the Phoenician coast remains a problem. Possibly it was easier to send supplies from the Jezreel Valley to the Phoenician coast by ship (from the Mt. Carmel region?).

[54] Niʾi is spoken of as being in the vicinity of a "sea". Cf. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 158*-168*; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 118 (1950), p. 15, n. 12; Helck, *op. cit*., p. 307. Cf. also *supra*, Chap. III, n. 13.

[55] For the identification of Shamash-Edom (*Šmš ỉtm*) with Adamah, see Y. Aharoni, "Some Geographical Remarks Concerning the Campaigns of Amenhotep II," *JNES*, 19 (1960), pp. 180-181.

[56] See the analysis given to the campaign of Thutmose III by F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Leiden, 1960), p. 167.

[57] Gardiner, *op. cit*., p. 166*.

[58] *ANET*, p. 352. The difference between Tunan-at and Tunan-ab is that the former possesses the Semitic feminine ending *-at*, whereas the latter reflects the ending *-ba/pa*, a frequent suffix of Ḫurrian toponymics. Cf. Astour, *op. cit*., p. 35.

[59] See the discussion given by Helck, *op. cit*., pp. 308-309.

[60] *Ibid*., p. 309; Astour, *JNES*, 22 (1963), p. 226, art. *39.

[61] *ANET*, p. 278 and the discussion by Helck, *op. cit*., p. 302.

[62] *Ibid*.

[63] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Penguin Books, 1961), p. 30. Cf. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, p. 84, n. 4.

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